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ABSTRACT

This annual volume brings together papers related to the history of higher education in the United States and abroad. The papers are: (1) "Before and after Humboldt: European Universities between the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries" (Robert Anderson); (2) "The Independent Intellectual as Academic Gadfly: One Variety of Anti-Academicism" (Hugh Hawkins); (3) "Rethinking Boundaries: The History of Women, Philanthropy, and Higher Education" (Andrea Walton); (4) "A Not So Distant Mirror: Great Depression Writings on the Governance and Finance of Public Higher Education" (Richard Novak and David Leslie); (5) "Exploring Our Professional Backyards: Toward Writing Recent History of American Colleges and Universities" (Roger L. Geiger, David B. Potts, and W. Bruce Leslie); and (6) "Markets and History: Selective Admissions and American Higher Education since 1950" (Roger L. Geiger). Each paper contains references. An annotated list of recent dissertations in the history of higher education is included. (SLD)

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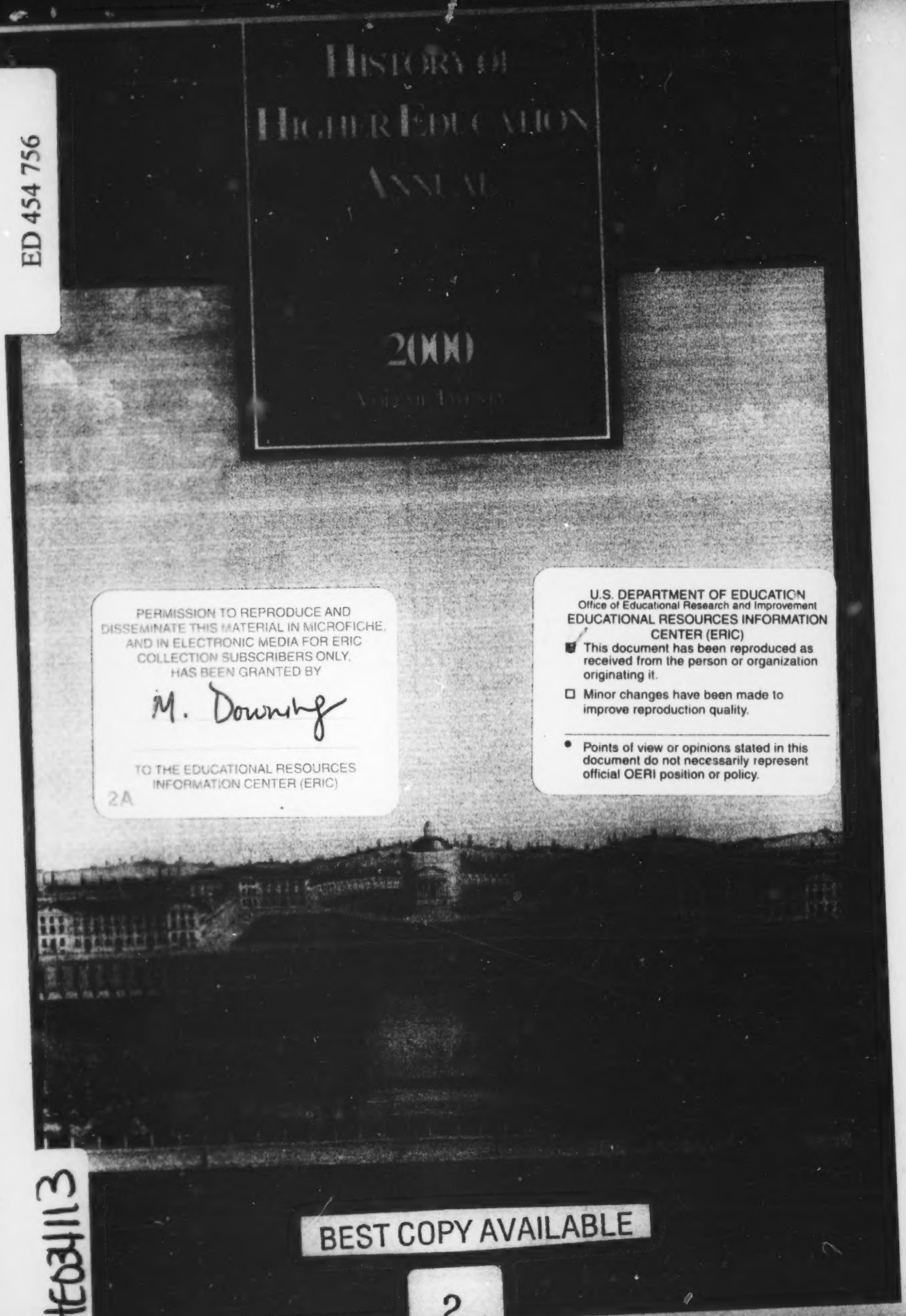

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HISTORY OF HIGHER EDUCATION ANNUAL

2000

VOLUME TWENTY

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THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY

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HISTORY OF HIGHER EDUCATION ANNUAL 2000
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ARTICLES

Before and After Humboldt: European Universities Between the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries	*Robert Anderson*	5
The Independent Intellectual as Academic Gadfly: One Variety of Anti-Academicism	*Hugh Hawkins*	15
Rethinking Boundaries: The History of Women, Philanthropy, and Higher Education	*Andrea Walton*	29
RETROSPECTIVE: A Not So Distant Mirror: Great Depression Writings on the Governance and Finance of Public Higher Education	*Richard Novak & David Leslie*	59
SYMPOSIUM REPORT: Exploring Our Professional Backyards: Toward Writing Recent History of American Colleges and Universities		79
Editor's Introduction	*Roger L. Geiger*	
Institutional Histories: State of the Art	*David B. Potts*	
Writing Postwar Institutional Histories	*W. Bruce Leslie*	
REVIEW ESSAY: Markets and History: Selective Admissions and American Higher Education Since 1950	*Roger L. Geiger*	93
RECENT DISSERTATIONS IN THE HISTORY OF HIGHER EDUCATION		109

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Before and After Humboldt: European Universities Between the Eighteenth and the Nineteenth Centuries

ROBERT ANDERSON

In traditional accounts of European universities, the period around 1800 is seen as one in which a decadent institution was given new life, but in the form of two rival traditions: the Humboldtian or Berlin model, and the specialized French system. This paper argues that the centralized, state-directed, utilitarian university was a powerful form, which survived more or less intact from the Enlightenment to the later nineteenth century. It was an invention of the enlightened absolutist state, and Napoleon's University was just one form of it, though an influential one. In post-1815 Europe the model retained its attractions for both neo-absolutist governments and liberal ideologues, and it was only the advance of secularization, industrialization, and political democracy that concluded a century-old phase. And what then emerged, and has survived, was a fusion of the Humboldtian and the state-directed ideals.

It is a common assumption about the origins of the modern European university that there was a marked discontinuity around 1800. The universities of the ancient regime were in decay, and many of them disappeared unlamented as a result of the upheavals of revolution and war. According to Lawrance Brockliss, "as the nineteenth century dawned, the university looked a doomed species," but it was to survive because of the phoenix-like emergence of the Humboldtian model at Berlin.[1] As recent scholarship has emphasized, and as Brockliss would be the first to acknowledge, the name of Humboldt should now really be seen as a useful symbol for a complex series of changes in which the foundation of Berlin university was only one phase. On the one hand, Halle and Göttingen paved the way for reform in eighteenth-century Germany, and on the other the Humboldtian ideal was partly a late nineteenth-century construct, which has been used to justify the modern research-oriented university despite its deviation from the "unity of knowledge" envisaged by Humboldt and his contemporaries. Nor was the German model without competitors, for a rival phoenix rose from the ashes in the centralized, state-dominated system of Napoleon, with its sharp division between research institutions and vocationally oriented teaching. It became commonplace in the nineteenth century to contrast French specialization and centralization with the relatively autonomous German universities, which combined teaching and research, almost always with the implication that the French model was less satisfactory and less intellectually fertile.

Robert Anderson is professor of modern history at the University of Edinburgh. His books include *Education and Opportunity in Victorian Scotland: Schools and Universities* (1983), *Universities and Elites in Britain Since 1800* (1992), and *Education and the Scottish People, 1750–1918* (1995). He is currently working on a study of European universities from the Enlightenment to the First World War.

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The aim of this paper is to suggest that we can only fully understand these two models in the light of their common context, and the argument has three parts.[2] First, that historians have underestimated the significance of the Enlightenment for university reform, and that eighteenth-century rulers pioneered the centralized state university. Second, that French and German models both derived from this, but diverged in directions determined by their national contexts. And third, that this model of the state-directed, utilitarian, centralized university remained very attractive and powerful in the early nineteenth century, so that the "modern" university, which emerged at the end of that century, was a compromise rather than a simple triumph of the research ideal. Perhaps there is nothing very new in this, but it does provide a different way of thinking about familiar patterns.

It might be assumed that if the Enlightenment was an intellectual movement based on the concept of Reason, and if universities are intellectual institutions devoted to critical and rational thinking, universities would be key Enlightened institutions, both as sources of original thought and as instruments for diffusing new ideas. But it is striking how little is said about universities in general histories of the Enlightenment, even those which focus on its social history or on the diffusion of ideas—by Peter Gay, for example, or Daniel Roche, or more recently Thomas Munck.[3] This may be because university history is a specialty which has yet to make its impact on the authors of general syntheses,[4] or because Enlightenment historiography traditionally concentrates on France, where the universities notoriously failed to absorb Enlightenment ideas, and in return the Enlightenment thinkers and educational theorists of the revolutionary period, had little use for universities.

In terms of student numbers or intellectual vitality, the eighteenth century was certainly an age of relative stagnation.[5] But this was often perceived as a problem at the time, and one that enlightened rulers began to tackle. This was true of small countries like Savoy in the early eighteenth century, or Portugal under Pombal in the 1760s–1770s, where a single university (Turin, Coimbra) served the needs of the state. But the most far-reaching reforms were those in the Habsburg lands under Maria Theresa and Joseph II: far-reaching in two senses, because the large number of universities coming under the same political control allowed thinking in terms of a single system, and because of the tendency of Joseph II to push reform to radical and sometimes disastrous lengths. In no European country in the eighteenth century, Grete Klingenstein has said, did university reform have such radical consequences.[6]

In reforming the University of Coimbra, Pombal had learnt from his spell as ambassador in Vienna. It was the new rector of Coimbra, Francisco de Lemos, who said in 1777:

> One should not look on the university as an isolated body, concerned only with its own affairs as is ordinarily the case, but as a body at the heart of the state, which through its scholars creates and diffuses the enlightenment of wisdom to all parts of the monarchy, to animate, and revitalize all branches of the public administration, and to promote the happiness of man. The more one analyses this idea, the more relationships one discovers between the university and the state: the more one sees the mutual dependency of these two bodies one on the other, and that science cannot flourish in the university without at the same time the state flourishing, improving and perfecting itself.[7]

With a few changes in vocabulary, this could equally have been said a hundred years later. For in looking for the dynamic of change between around 1750 and 1870, it is difficult to avoid focusing on the state, whether absolutist or national, and on the formation of the elites which served it. The social history of the university, and the constant debates over its curriculum, owed as much to this practical demand as to any inner-directed development arising from the nature of universities or to a clash of bloodless ideal types. As public institutions of intense interest to governing elites, the history of European universities cannot be detached from the wider political, social, religious, and intellectual currents of the age.

If we were to draw up an ideal model of the Enlightened reform programme, its components would include all or most of the following. First, control by the state, seeking to impose rational and uniform reform, usually under the direction of a permanent bureaucratic body; sometimes this body was also responsible for other levels of education, and saw universities as one element in a coordinated policy of *Nationalerziehung*—the Habsburg term, though "national" here did not yet have its nineteenth-century connotations. Second, reforming rulers sought to eliminate corporatism, particularism, municipal control, local kinship or professional networks, and self-appointing and nepotistic professorates. Reform might involve a radical revision of the university map, with the closure or downgrading of the smaller institutions. Again, the Habsburgs provide the chief example: Joseph II wanted only one university for each political unit of his domains, and those at Graz and Innsbruck, among others, lost their university status in the 1780s.

Third, university education was to be useful and modern, promoting the interests of the state by training bureaucrats—but also doctors, village priests or pastors, and in some cases schoolmasters who would promote economic progress and welfare at the grass roots. Sometimes there was an emphasis on merit in recruiting these professional men, but reform could also mean squeezing out poorer students and attracting back aristocrats by restoring the fashionablity of university education and offering courtly as well as intellectual skills. The progressive landowner could be an important agent of economic and social change, and as elite institutions universities were well placed to diffuse Enlightened ideas to the impressionable adolescents on their benches.

This new mission meant major changes in all four traditional faculties. In medicine, the "birth of the clinic" and the development of university-associated hospitals. In law, the promotion both of natural law and of the study of local legal systems and codes, to replace or supplement the traditional emphases on Roman and canon law. Notker Hammerstein's work has emphasized the centrality of law in Enlightened reform, first in Halle, but then through the spread of new ideas from northern Germany to the Catholic universities of the south and then to the Habsburg Empire.[8] In the arts faculties Göttingen had a similar role, at least in the German-language areas, and here the full package of reforms would include dismantling scholasticism, teaching in the vernacular, and the introduction of a range of practical and scientific subjects. The Humboldtian reformers were to use "utilitarian" and "specialized" as terms of condemnation, and this has made historians too ready to underestimate the vitality of innovation in eighteenth-century universities. Sometimes this bypassed the traditional university and resulted in the creation of specialized, vocational schools. These too were denigrated by Humboldtian champions of the unity of knowledge, but should really be seen as a distinctive new

form of higher education; a development lying at the origin of the French *grandes écoles*, which remain immensely powerful today, can hardly be written out of the picture.

Finally there was secularization. Throughout Catholic Europe, reform was linked with the dissolution of the Jesuit order. Catholic rulers generally supported a variety of Gallican, Febronian, regalian, or Josephinist doctrines, which preached the subordination of church to state. In both Catholic and Protestant countries, universities were expected to turn out clerics loyal to the state, who would be good parish pastors teaching enlightened, rational morality to their flocks. Faculties of theology were modernized accordingly, and Joseph II's attempt to substitute the university faculty for the Episcopal seminaries at Louvain showed the hostility that such policies could arouse. In Protestant universities one can see this new emphasis in the reformed Lutheranism of Halle,[9] in the Moderatism of the Scottish universities, and in the kind of natural theology, which made Paley a set author at Oxford and Cambridge.

Although rulers were now abandoning their sixteenth and seventeenth century obsession with religious unity, the imposition of these modified forms of religious orthodoxy showed that there was still a marked desire to maintain some kind of official doctrine, and this idea, as we shall see, was slow to die. Although Enlightened reforms were in many countries a decisive stage in the shift of power from church to state, secularization did not yet involve a break with religious faith, and this might limit the degree to which the reformed universities promoted intellectual progress and free inquiry. In Spain genuine reforming efforts under Charles III in the 1770s ultimately proved ineffective because of the fear of unleashing new or foreign ideas. And in Austria itself, professors were kept under narrow political surveillance and required to lecture from approved texts. By later standards, therefore, the universities of the Enlightenment were not always enlightened universities.

Although university reform was commonly one aspect of enlightened absolutism, it was not necessary to have absolute rulers to have enlightened university reforms. They could be carried out by national elites intent on political and economic regeneration, as in Scotland in the mid-eighteenth century, with notable success, and in Poland in the 1790s, in an unsuccessful attempt to resist partition. But where there were neither reforming governments nor committed elites, universities were likely to remain unreformed, as in England. In this dynamic commercial society, the universities, not being in London, had little connection with the intellectual life of the capital, with the world of literature, the press, the coffee houses, the inns of court, scientific societies, and salons.

It is less easy to explain why in France, where the most important university was in the capital, the monarchy failed to initiate reforms, despite the stimulus of the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1762. The local elites, the leaders of the Parliaments, did draw up reform plans, but were not allowed to carry them out.[10] As Brockliss has pointed out, reform did not necessarily seem as urgent to contemporaries as to critical historians. Despite their intellectual stagnation, the French universities' social function of turning out lawyers, clergymen, and officials had not lost its validity, and they worked, as everything else in the ancient regime worked, somewhat chaotically but with the force of tradition and inertia.[11] The absence of university reform in France probably has to be seen as a specific case of the general inability or unwillingness of the French monarchy to adopt the secularizing, modernizing reforms carried through by other eighteenth-century rulers, so that it was left to the revolution, and to Napoleon, to belatedly catch up. Which sweeping Tocquevillian generalization brings us to Napoleon.

Having briefly sketched this crude model of Enlightened reform, it is easy to see that the reforms of Napoleon and those in Prussia are both to some extent typical cases, while also diverging from the model in different directions. Reforms in Paris and Berlin in fact had much in common: the role of the state, and the link with its bureaucracy, the stress on examinations and merit, the conscious desire to create a new national elite, and the close relationship with a more rigorously defined secondary education.[12]

Napoleon was only following Enlightened precedents in seeing education as an instrument of the state, and in creating a centralized, uniform, bureaucratically administered system designed to produce officers, officials, and professional men to serve it. The novelty was to refuse even the idea of the traditional university, replacing it by an unconnected collection of faculties and professional schools. There has been comparatively little historical work on Napoleon's educational policies in recent years, but what there is has tended to stress continuity with the ancient regime—for example, the relationship between the secondary *lycées* on the one hand and the faculties and specialized schools on the other actually reproduced the relationship of the arts colleges to the old University of Paris (as well as having parallels in contemporary Bavaria and Austria). As in other fields, Napoleon's genius lay as much in organizing existing institutions into a powerful and coherent new pattern as in creating them from scratch. Like other rulers, he saw the function of higher education as to teach accepted truths, not to promote original thought, and his system was designed to promote loyalty through a common ideology, which was only partly secular. It is often forgotten that his system included faculties of theology, whose professors had to swear loyalty to the Gallican Articles of 1682. This proved abortive, as the Papacy held on to its seminaries and refused to recognize the theology faculties. Yet the University remained officially Catholic (while also recognizing the rights of minorities), and this was one reason why it survived 1815.

Why did matters take a different turn in Germany: why was there such extensive discussion of university reform there in the later eighteenth century, and why were new ideas given practical shape?[13] The reasons must be partly political—the decentralized structure of non-Habsburg Germany, the greater survival of corporate, particularist habits, the absence of strong secularizing forces—and partly social, in the crucial link between universities and the professional, bureaucratic, state-oriented stratum of the bourgeoisie. In any account of German developments, universities and *Bildungsbürgertum* go together.[14] If northern Germany had had a weaker bourgeoisie, purely absolutist solutions might have prevailed. If it had had a stronger one, drawing its wealth from commerce, universities might have been bypassed as in France or England. But as it was, universities were well placed to be at the center of the new public sphere, as institutions of civil society. University chairs were held by leading intellectuals, who contributed to public debate and to the diffusion of Enlightened ideas both through their weightier works, and by their active part in periodical literature. In Norbert Elias's words the university was "the social center most important in fashioning and disseminating the German middle-class culture. . . . The German university was, in a sense, the middle-class counterweight to the court."[15] This was not a position which French or English universities were able to assume, though the cultural centrality of the eighteenth-century university was to be seen in Scotland, in many of the major Italian cities, and in Holland—even if in the Dutch case the old-established universities had to compete, as Willem Frijhoff has shown, with a commercial culture centered in Amsterdam and the other maritime cities.[16]

Germany's distinctiveness also rested on intellectual innovation. The union of teaching and research, the unity of knowledge embodied in the philosophy faculty, the ideal of Bildung, of individual self-development through scholarship and science, the freedom of professor and student: these were genuinely new ideas, institutional inventions, developed by a self-conscious group of thinkers, and they prevailed as a package because of their power and attraction. In Germany they were associated with the movement of national revival and the anti-French mood of 1813, and outside it with new Romantic beliefs in individual emancipation and self-realization, and with the cult of youth.[17]

The reality of the German universities was, of course, less idealistic, more vocational and state-directed, than Humboldt and those who worked with him might have wished. Göttingen could be seen in origin as a typical bureaucratically-oriented foundation, and Berlin as a typical neo-absolutist one of the post-revolutionary era. As the English liberal historian Acton put it in 1886, Humboldt "forged the link between science and force by organizing a university at Berlin."[18] As with eighteenth-century rulers and Napoleon, the aim was to produce a service class for the modern state, and German philosophical idealism could be seen as a characteristic form of secularized official doctrine-not very Christian, but not very liberal either, and certainly supportive of political authority. Perhaps it was only after 1815, as a result of the struggle with the Metternichian police state, that the liberal potential of the German universities emerged, culminating in the idea of freedom of science and teaching which was written into constitutions in 1848.

In the early nineteenth century, the Enlightenment legacy of centralization and utilitarianism was still strong, and even took on a new appeal. The Restoration regimes—in Spain, in Italy, in France itself—retained the new powers of the state, whose machinery could now be used for clerical and reactionary purposes, and they were not interested in restoring the corporate freedoms of the ancient regime or the independence of the Church. The Papal States themselves saw a notably rational and authoritarian university reform in 1824.[19] In Austria, one of the few parts of Europe where the universities were left undisturbed by the Napoleonic upheavals (and one of the few with a capital city as dominant as Paris), the control of the neo-absolutist state was maintained in full vigor, and it was no coincidence that the Viennese revolution of 1848 was the one in which students were most active, or that Magyarization of the University of Budapest was a key issue for Hungarian nationalists. It was not until after 1867 that real liberalization took place and the Austrian universities came to conform more closely to the standard German pattern. Nor was there much emphasis on original thought. Francis I notoriously said in 1821, "I do not need savants, but good honest citizens," but he was only echoing the similar words of Joseph II.[20]

Liberals and nationalists too could see virtues in the centralized state university. Nineteenth-century liberals were sometimes opposed to the strong state, but equally inclined to use it for their own purposes—secularization, modernization and economic development, the entrenchment of elite power, the formation of the nation-state.[21] For nationalists—looking more to Fichte than to Humboldt-Berlin provided the model of a university with a national mission. In France Orleanist liberals shared Napoleon's view that it was the function of the state to direct the public mind,[22] and the chief educational ideologist of the July monarchy, Victor Cousin, defended the Napoleonic state monopoly in exactly the same terms as Napoleon's own officials. Cousin developed his philosophy

of "eclecticism" as an official doctrine, reconciling religion and reason, which all professors of philosophy had to accept. It drew heavily on the Scottish philosopher Thomas Reid, codified in these years by Dugald Stewart at Edinburgh as a doctrine for the education of the elite.[23] French officials also remained loyal to Gallican ideas on the relations of church and state; the Napoleonic system was only a half-way house on the road to the militant educational secularism of the Third Republic.[24]

Speaking in the French Chamber of Peers in 1845, Cousin claimed that "it is not the University's task to advance the sciences and the progress of the human mind." That was the business of specialized institutes: the university "has a different mission, and one no less great: it distributes established knowledge to those who need it and for specific purposes, and prepares for all the liberal careers within society."[25] The debate among university reformers in the mid-nineteenth century was not usually between teaching and research ideals, but between different concepts of liberal education. A unified ideal of the educated man was still prevalent. But should his general education be completed in the secondary school, allowing specialization within the university, as both the French and the Humboldtian systems held in rather different ways; or should the university curriculum itself have a strong common core, as was the tradition in Austria as well as in all three systems (English, Scottish, and Irish) in the British Isles? Should his formation be encyclopedic, or based on privileged subjects like the classics and mathematics? Should it be a pragmatic preparation for professional and official life, or designed to produce the whole man, the "gentleman" in the style of John Henry Newman? Should there be dogmatic teaching, or *Lernfreiheit* and active participation in the search for truth? The new research ideal really grew up in Germany on the back of the Humboldtian concept of liberal education, before exerting its independent attraction.

Even in the 1850s, university reform was generally cast in a French rather than German mould, stressing uniformity and a centrally-ordered curriculum. This was true of the reforms introduced by the British state in Ireland in 1850, in Scotland in 1858, and in the University of London in 1858. In France itself Napoleonic ideas naturally returned to full favor under Napoleon III. The Swedish reform of 1852, despite the strong influence of the German ideal of *Bildung* in that country, seems to fit into the same pattern.[26] But perhaps the most interesting examples are those of Spain and Italy, where liberals promoted a centralized university system to hold together a fissiparous country in one case, to provide ideological direction for a newly united country in the other.

The Spanish system created in 1857 by the *ley Moyano* was one of the most uniform and centralizing of all, and (ironically, in view of Spain's recent history) one of the closest to the Napoleonic model, including a special role for the "Central University" at Madrid. The curriculum and professorial teaching were rigidly controlled, and (since this was the work of the Moderate rather than the Radical wing of the Liberals, and was not part of an anticlerical offensive) a state-approved religious orientation was maintained, with an orthodox state philosophy influenced by Cousin. The legislators of 1857, and of a preceding law in 1845, consciously saw themselves as taking up the work of the Enlightened reformers of the eighteenth century, and carrying out their unachieved programme.[27] In Italy the Casati law of 1859 in Piedmont was applied ruthlessly after 1861 to the rest of the new kingdom, and again there was clear continuity with Enlightenment projects and with the reforms, which had taken place under French rule between 1796 and 1814. In both countries, moreover, reaction against these centralizing laws

was to create a "university question" in which the more autonomous universities of Germany served as the counter-model. Nowhere more than in Italy, perhaps, was the contrast between French and German systems a commonplace of debate.[28]

In Catholic countries especially, the state university gave rise to the opposing ideal of "liberty of teaching." In Belgium classic liberals attached to local autonomy allied with Catholics to oppose the surprisingly absolutist system of the Kingdom of the Netherlands between 1815 and 1830—which had even included a rerun of Joseph II's policy on seminaries.[29] In France *liberté d'enseignement* became the war cry of Catholics, whether liberal or ultramontane, who rejected the pseudo-religion of Napoleon and Cousin, and this movement led eventually to the foundation of Catholic universities in the 1870s. In Spain the reaction took a more libertarian form reflected in the left-wing educational ideals of the 1868 Republic and the cult of the German philosopher Krause. In Italy it was expressed in regional resistance to the new kingdom, as well as in constant calls for more autonomy and intellectual freedom.

The phase of university history with which this paper has been concerned came to an end around 1870, partly because the prestige and the intellectual achievements of the German universities did conquer opinion, partly because increasing specialization within science and scholarship made the old ideal of the generally educated man untenable; but also for reasons which must be sought in the wider political and social sphere. The growth of free thought, positivism and "materialism" in the 1860s finally made official doctrines of the Cousin type untenable, and a new era of conflict between the churches and anticlericalism forced universities into the secularist camp. The same period saw the final defeat of the anti-liberal political regimes which had enjoyed a resurgence after 1848: authoritarian politics gave way to a new kind of liberal state, or at least to one based on wider consent, and elitist neo-absolutism became untenable. On a different front, the progress of industrialization was creating new demands for scientific teaching, and new social pressures for the extension of the university's mission beyond the old elite. Fritz Ringer was surely right in seeing the 1860s as a key point of transition to the "high industrial" phase of European educational history.[30] Nor is it a coincidence that this is the period when demands for women's higher education first appear, as part of a general reorientation to the broader needs of the middle class. The two decades around 1870 form a more fundamental era of transition, though one with less obviously dramatic breaches of continuity, than the years of upheaval around 1800. The years before and after Humboldt have more in common than is generally acknowledged, and what happened at the end of the nineteenth century was not so much the triumph of the Humboldtian ideal as a new synthesis in which elements of both Enlightenment and Humboldtian traditions were merged. No doubt it is a paradox that just when the German tradition of freedom of science had so much influence elsewhere, the unification of Germany itself created powerful new centralizing and nationalist forces at home. But that is a story that belongs to the next phase of university history, in the context of the great-power rivalries and social tensions of the period that culminated in 1914.

NOTES

[1] L. Brockliss, "The European University in the Age of Revolution," in *The History of the University of Oxford. VI. Nineteenth-Century Oxford*, Part 1, eds. M. G. Brock and M. C. Curthoys (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 100.

[2] Early versions of this paper were presented at the Modern History Research Seminar, University of Edinburgh, and the conference "Transformation and Continuity in the History of Universities," Oslo, Norway, 2000. I am grateful to colleagues for their comments on those occasions.

[3] P. Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1967–70); D. Roche, *La France des Lumières* (Paris: Fayard, 1993); T. Munck, *The Enlightenment: A Comparative Social History 1721–1794* (London: Arnold, 2000).

[4] A big step forward in communicating the results of recent research is H. de Ridder-Symoens, ed., *A History of the University in Europe. II. Universities in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). Only the medieval and early-modern sections of this four-volume history are so far available.

[5] No attempt is made here to discuss the wide-ranging work on early-modern student enrollments stimulated by Lawrence Stone, "The Size and Composition of the Oxford Student Body 1580–1909," in *The University in Society*, 2 vols., ed. L. Stone (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 3–110. See M. R. di Simone, "Admission," in *History of the University in Europe*, ed. de Ridder-Symoens, 285–325.

[6] G. Klingenstein, "Universitätsfragen in der österreichischen Monarchie um 1800," in *Wegenetz Europäischen Geistes: Wissenschaftszentren und geistige Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Mittel- und Südosteuropa vom Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg*, eds. R. G. Plaschka and K. Mack (Wien: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1983), 82.

[7] Kenneth Maxwell, "Pombal: The Paradox of Enlightenment and Despotism," in *Enlightened Absolutism: Reform and Reformers in Later Eighteenth-Century Europe*, ed. H. M. Scott (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990), 105.

[8] Hammerstein's work is now accessible to the English reader in de Ridder-Symoens, *History of the University in Europe*.

[9] A. Schindling, *Bildung und Wissenschaft in der frühen Neuzeit 1650–1800* (München: Oldenbourg, 1994), 38–40.

[10] R. R. Palmer, "The Old Regime Origins of the Napoleonic Educational Structure," in *Vom Ancient Régime zur Französischen Revolution: Forschungen und Perspektiven*, E. Hinrichs and others (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1978), 318–33.

[11] L. W. B. Brockliss, *French Higher Education in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: A Cultural History* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987).

[12] See Gert Schubring's stimulating essay "Spezialschulmodell versus Universitätsmodell: die Institutionalisierung von Forschung," in *'Einsamkeit und Freiheit' neu besichtigt. Universitätsreformen und Disziplinenbildung in Preussen als Modell für Wissenschaftspolitik im Europa des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. G. Schubring (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1991), 276–326.

[13] R. Steven Turner, "University Reformers and Professorial Scholarship in Germany 1760–1806," in *The University in Society*, Stone, 495–531.

[14] The standard account remains Charles E. McClelland, *State, Society, and University in Germany 1700–1914* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980). More recently, Rüdiger vom Bruch, "Il modello tedesco: università e Bildungsbürgertum," in *L'Università tra Otto e Novecento: i modelli europei e il caso italiano*, ed. I. Porciani (Napoli: Jovene, 1994), 35–59.

[15] N. Elias, *The Civilizing Process: The History of Manners* (Oxford: Blackwell, n.d.), 24. But there is only limited discussion of universities in Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, England: Polity Press, 1989).

[16] For Scotland, Nicholas Phillipson, "Culture and Society in the Eighteenth Century Province: The Case of Edinburgh and the Scottish Enlightenment," in *The University in Society*, Stone, 407–48,

and "Commerce and Culture: Edinburgh, Edinburgh University, and the Scottish Enlightenment," in *The University and the City, from Medieval Origins to the Present*, ed. Thomas Bender (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 100–16. For Italy, D. Carpanetto and G. Ricuperati, *Italy in the Age of Reason 1685–1789* (London: Longman, 1987), 298–307. For Holland, Willem Frijhoff, *La Société néerlandaise et ses gradués 1575–1814* (Amsterdam: APA-Holland University Press, 1981).

[17] For the example of Scandinavia, see G. Eriksson, "Romanticism in Scandinavia," in *Romanticism in National Context*, eds. R. Porter and M. Teich (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 172–90.

[18] J. E. E. Dalberg-Acton, *Essays in the Study and Writing of History*, ed. J. Rufus Fears (Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1986), 346.

[19] G. Ermini, *Storia della Università di Perugia* (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1947), 584–8.

[20] C. A. Macartney, *The Habsburg Empire 1790–1918* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968), 211–12; C. Thienen-Adlerflycht, "Wandlungen des österreichischen Studiensystems im Übergang vom 18. zum 19. Jahrhundert," in *Student und Hochschule im 19. Jahrhundert: Studien und Materialien* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1975), 29. The case of Russia is not discussed here: the modern university system dates essentially from 1803–4, with relatively little continuity from eighteenth-century experiments; but it is interesting that the importation of the German model also imported built-in tensions between neo-absolutist conceptions and liberal autonomy which were to last until 1917.

[21] P. Pilbeam, *The Middle Classes in Europe 1789–1914: France, Germany, Italy and Russia* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990), 173–209, 236.

[22] F. Guizot, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de mon temps*, vol. 3 (Paris: Michel Lévy, 1860), 14–17.

[23] N. Phillipson, "The Pursuit of Virtue in Scottish University Education: Dugald Stewart and Scottish Moral Philosophy in the Enlightenment," in *Universities, Society and the Future*, ed. N. Phillipson (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1983), 82–101.

[24] F. Ponteil, *Histoire de l'enseignement en France: les grandes étapes, 1789–1964* (Paris: Sirey, 1966), 123–54.

[25] V. Cousin, *Défense de l'Université et de la philosophie* (Paris: Joubert, 1845), 379–80.

[26] Sven-Eric Liedman, "In Search of Isis: General Education in Germany and Sweden," in *The European and American University since 1800: Historical and Sociological Essays*, eds. S. Rothblatt and B. Wittrock (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 95–6.

[27] M. and J. L. Peset, *La Universidad Española (siglos XVIII y XIX): despotismo ilustrado y revolución liberal* (Madrid: Taurus, 1974).

[28] Arturo Colombo, "Per una storia dei modelli di università (dalla legge Casati all'autonomia degli atenei)," in *L'Università in Italia fra età moderna e contemporanea: aspetti e momenti*, eds. G. P. Brizzi and A. Varni (Bologna: CLUEB, 1991), 29–58; T. Tomasi and L. Bellatalla, *L'Università italiana nell'età liberale (1861–1923)* (Napoli: Liguore, 1988), 19.

[29] F. B. Artz, *Reaction and Revolution 1814–1832* (New York: Harper, 1934), 272.

[30] Fritz Ringer, *Education and Society in Modern Europe* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979), 1–31. Cf. F. Ringer, "Patterns of Access to the Modern European Universities: Rates of Enrollment," *History of Higher Education Annual* 14 (1994): 101–25, and "Patterns of Access to the Modern European Universities: the Social Origins of Students," ibid., 15 (1995): 127–42.

The Independent Intellectual As Academic Gadfly: One Variety of Anti-Academicism

HUGH HAWKINS

Taking an "outside-in" approach, this article examines the judgments of academia expressed by "independent intellectuals," who pursued their lifework largely outside colleges and universities. The exploration considers two Transcendentalists—Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau, two Progressive Era writers—Van Wyck Brooks and H. L. Mencken, and two "New York intellectuals"—Dwight Macdonald and Alfred Kazin. Enemies of pedantry and learnedness, these critics boldly crossed disciplinary lines and sought immediate social relevance. Their provocative depictions of the academic world tended to soften over their life span. As the institutional environment opened up to creative writers and social critics, some independent intellectuals took academic posts, though these were usually tangential to the established career ladder. Still, their depreciation of formal higher education suggests that "antiacademicism" should be distinguished from "anti-intellectualism."

There is little surprise these days in a historian's claim to write history from the bottom up. Perhaps nobody could have predicted thirty years ago how fruitful that approach would prove, and how many different bottom groups would provide new perspectives on American life and new sources. In higher education this approach has led to studies of non-elite institutions, such as Raymond Wolters's *The New Negro on Campus: Black College Rebellions of the 1920s*, Jurgen Herbst's *And Sadly Teach* on normal schools, and Philip Gleason's works on Catholic colleges. Richard Freeland in his *Academia's Golden Age* studies eight institutions in the Boston area, including Boston College with its many Irish Catholic day students; Northeastern, growing out of a YMCA evening school; and the urban branch of the state university. If one looks for previously ignored groups rather than institutions, one might note Helen Lefkowitz Horwitz's *Campus Life*, focusing on students, including "outsiders" and "rebels"; David Almendinger's *Paupers and Scholars*, which reveals the increase in older, poorer students who began entering colleges as early as the 1820s, deadly about escaping rural poverty, and Lynn Gordon's study of women students in the Progressive Era. No institutional history today

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Hugh Hawkins is professor emeritus of History and American Studies at Amherst College. His "The Making of the Liberal Arts College Identity" appeared in *Daedalus* (winter 1999). An earlier version of this article was presented as a lecture before the Phi Alpha Theta chapter at the University of Albany, State University of New York. For stimulating interchanges I want to thank Lawrence A. Babb, Allen Guttmann, Neil Jumonville, and N. Gordon Levin, Jr. I am grateful also to three students who pursued related projects in the fall of 1994: Irene Cheung, Delia Morris, and Takehiro Matsutani.

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would be likely to overlook a record of discrimination against women or minorities, a subject skillfully treated in David Potts's history of Wesleyan and Bruce Leslie's *Gentlemen and Scholars*, a comparative study of four colleges in the so-called "Age of the University."

To my knowledge, no one has chosen to concentrate on two groups that would reveal a great deal about academic history. I am thinking here of the non-teaching staffs, the pink collar and blue collar workers on campus, who have recently become much more organized and self-assertive. I am thinking also of "faculty wives," a category that sounds ridiculous today, but in the record, I find the spouses of all-male faculties often cropping up, helping determine the tone of institutions and playing significant parts in the teaming process of their husbands' students.

In this paper I want to lay aside the "bottom up" approach and suggest another nontraditional avenue, that of "outside in." How did those not involved in academic life affect it by their judgments and actions? Such phenomena as conflicts between students and locals, neighborhood resistance to campus expansion, voter reaction to proposals for tax support of higher education, representations of college life in popular culture—all these themes could bring new perspectives to academic history. They could give specificity to historical concern for the relation of colleges and universities to "the broader society" and would reveal several varieties of antiacademicism.

This paper adopts another variant of the "outside in" approach. It examines a few of some rather well-known outsiders, those who considered themselves or were considered by others to be "intellectuals," but whose connection to higher education was minimal. If it did involve professorial status, that had little to do with the individual's identity in the world of social and literary criticism. I call these persons "independent intellectuals," but they of course had their own institutional connections, little magazines and journals of criticism (from Margaret Fuller's *Dial* to Irving Howe's *Dissent*), salons or saloons (from Mabel Dodge's apartment to the Cedar Street Bar), lecture circuits (from the Lyceums that helped support Emerson to today's professional lecture bureaus), investigative television with its talking heads, and think links ranging across the political spectrum.[1]

These figures cast a wide net of social criticism. Colleges and universities could hardly escape. In what follows I have selected two independent intellectuals from each of three groups to examine their role as commenters on higher education and its denizens: the Transcendentalists, the Bohemian-Young American thinkers who came together in Greenwich Village in the years before World War I, and the so-called "New York intellectuals," that fascinating cluster, some still among us, who began as Marxist social and literary critics, moved in most cases to Cold War liberalism and then neo-conservatism. The samples are frustratingly small, but they at least suggest the stimulating acidity of independent intellectuals and the intriguing ambivalence of their relations with academia.

EMERSON AND THOREAU

While not as unsettling as his Divinity School Address a year later, which provoked attacks on his "infidelity," Ralph Waldo Emerson's Phi Beta Kappa address of 1837 was strong medicine for his Harvard audience. "The American Scholar," he insisted, was not the Thinker, but rather Man Thinking, and to ignore the difference was a constant

danger for institutions that prided themselves on libraries and professorships and endowments. Books did indeed help educate the American scholar, but nature and action did more. Books were a danger if "the sacredness which attaches to the act of creation—the act of thought—is transferred to the record." When that happens, books about books are then written by (mere) Thinkers, not by Man Thinking. "Meek young men grow up in libraries" and emerge as part of an unworthy "book-learned class." Colleges, he granted, had an "indispensable office—to teach elements." But to highly serve, they must aim not to drill, but to gather rays of genius and set "the hearts of their youth on flame."[2]

If any one figure represented for Emerson the degeneration of divine inspiration to mere bookishness and social externalities, it was Edward Everett. Perhaps Emerson dwelt on this case because Everett had begun teaching at Harvard in 1819 when Emerson was a sixteen-year-old junior. He could recall in glowing terms Everett's lectures "adorned with so many simple and austere beauties of expression, and enriched with so many excellent digressions and significant quotations." Everett had been elected professor at Harvard and then allowed to study abroad for three years. On his return this paragon of learnedness brought the first knowledge of German literature to Harvard; he brought Goethe. Yet when Emerson wrote of Everett, he began with praise and ended with disillusion. In an address late in his life Emerson concluded that Everett's "inspiration . . . did not go beyond his head," master of eloquence though he was.[3]

This judgment had been forecast by Emerson's journal entry made after he attended Everett's inaugural as president of Harvard in 1846. With his post-professorial political career as governor, congressman, and ambassador to Great Britain, Everett had become "a mere dangler & ornamental person." But his appointment to head Harvard was widely praised. "Boston is contented because he is so creditable, safe, & prudent," Emerson observed, "and the scholars because he is a scholar, & understands the business." But in Emerson's eyes Everett's twenty years in politics had been "the ruin of all solid scholarship." At the inaugural ceremony "the Latin allusions flew all day," Emerson drily noted. In spite of that the aspect of the event was political not literary. In his address Everett used his scholarship "only complimentarily [sic]."[4] In short he was not Man Thinking, and under him Harvard was unlikely to ignite genius in its students. Emerson's negative assessment accurately forecast Everett's failed presidency (he left with relief after three years to become Secretary of State). But Emerson persisted in believing that Harvard was potentially a nurturing home for the true American Scholar.

In his public lectures, Emerson continued with barbed asides on higher education. There were advantages to college life, he admitted. But what advantages? Perhaps greatest was "the mere mechanical one . . . of a separate chamber and fire" not allowed at home.[5]

There was a rapprochement between Emerson and Harvard after the Civil War. He invoked the courage of its alumni in battle as emotionally as did any president of the college. The outpouring of calls for university reform he judged as evidence "that a cleavage is occurring in the hitherto firm granite of the past, and a new era is nearly arrived."[6] Harvard gave him an honorary degree in 1866, elected him an Overseer the next year, and had him give two lecture series in its effort to create a graduate program. Emerson was sympathetic with the reforms under President Charles W. Eliot, especially the advance of the elective system. He himself had attacked required Latin, Greek, and mathematics as early as 1844.[7]

In two journal entries Emerson judged that he would be a good teacher of rhetoric, though not himself an orator. He wrote resentfully that not even "the poorest country college" had ever offered him such a post.[8] In the 1840s and 1850s, however, he gave talks at many colleges, invited almost always by a student literary or debating society. Perhaps the students would not have heard him as avidly in a formal class. Inviting Emerson was one of those daring things students could do to defy the established college order.

Emerson probably served higher education better with his outsider's critique and invited lectures than he would have as one of the professoriat. Certainly his critique of "The American Scholar" survives today as one of the greatest challenges to the inertia of organized learning.

Henry David Thoreau, a Harvard graduate of 1837, half a generation after Emerson, left no such rich record on higher education. But he too expressed doubts about the current American pattern, most famously of course in *Walden*, read by so few in his lifetime. As a schoolmaster, he had lengthened the outdoor recess period and tried out varieties of field study. Similar preferences underlay his critique of higher education in *Walden*.[9]

In his boast that his cabin on Walden Pond had cost less than a year's rent for a Harvard dormitory room, he mentioned the latter's drawback of "many and noisy neighbors." Shortly after, however, he indicated approval of student friendships. The college, he observed, puts "tuition" (that is, teaching) on students' term bill, while ironically making no charge "for the far more valuable education which he gets by associating with the most cultivated of his contemporaries." Scoffing at what went on when students were "fitting themselves" for college, Thoreau suggested they would do better if they constructed the college buildings. Most preparatory education failed to unify hand and head in meaningful undertakings.

A now famous passage suggesting that the boy who made his own jackknife would be ahead of another who received one as a gift clearly refers to precollegiate education, but there is no doubting the object of this expostulation: "To my astonishment I was informed on leaving college that I had studied navigation—why, if I had taken one turn down the harbor I should have known more about it." Academic life, it seems, was conducted sealed away in what a generation after Thoreau would label "the ivory tower."[10]

Looking back, however, Thoreau recognized benefits in his own years at college. While there he had been learning chiefly to express himself, with little enough help from the professors, who had not stressed the most important quality of all, sincerity. "I mean sincerity in our dealings with ourselves mainly—any other is comparatively easy."[11]

Though he can credibly be called anti-academic, Thoreau like Emerson saw hope in stirrings of academic reform. Two bits of evidence show the younger man positively inclined toward student initiatives in the extra curriculum and toward a break from the required classical Bachelor of Arts curriculum. Thoreau had, as he said, traveled a good deal in Concord, but he also traveled from Concord to borrow books at the Harvard Library. On one such foray he dropped by the dormitory room of the editor of the *Harvard Magazine*, a student-run publication. To show his appreciation for the magazine's having taken note of his first two books, he delivered a volume for the reviewer.[12]

While Emerson was abroad in 1847, Thoreau caught him up on the news, including news of Harvard. The stay-at-home told of the recently acquired Harvard telescope and the astronomers' hope that they had found a previously unknown satellite of Neptune.

The college, he declared, was "really beginning to wake up and redeem its character and overtake the age." Among the advances, he counted the plan to establish a scientific school to instruct "in the highest branches of science," with the distinguished Swiss immigrant Louis Agassiz lecturing on zoology. Most praiseworthy of all, the scientific course was not to lead to "the old joke of a diploma. Let every sheep keep but his own skin, I say." By this thrust at ancient academic formalities, the correspondent undercut the dominant promotional tone of his report.[13]

In a journal passage Thoreau came close to the ethos of the emerging research-oriented universities, viewing knowledge as objective and cumulative. To speak with authority, he wrote, one "will take his place in a regular order, and substantially add his own knowledge to the knowledge of previous generations."[14] But Thoreau did not see such authorities as limited to academic roles. In fact, he may well have had his own carefully recorded naturalistic observations in mind. Here was a free-lance if ever there was one, a rare case of an intellectual supporting himself by manual labor. To be a professor, on the other hand, meant mostly to be a drillmaster, deluding yourself by thinking the students were learning what you taught.

BROOKS AND MENCKEN

No such handy name as "Transcendentalists" identifies the rebellious young critics of the 1910s and 1920s, the group that comes to mind when one mentions Greenwich Village, the Provincetown Players, or the magazine *The Masses*. Van Wyck Brooks was a central figure in this so-called "Little Renaissance," and his manifesto, *America's Coming-of-Age*, counts among its classics. From an upper-middle-class New Jersey family, proud of its colonial roots, he entered Harvard in 1904, where he found much to support his admiration for European literature and his disdain for American "genteel culture." He became an editor of the student newspaper and privately published with a friend a volume of their verses. He finished the course in three years and hurried off to Europe.[15] His family had taken him there as a youngster, and he knew it offered the cultural riches that his homeland lacked. While abroad he wrote a book on the Puritans, helping to give that name additional negative connotations, since he blamed Puritanism for Americans' inability to link the ideal and the practical. Because of Puritanism, Americans were either feckless dreamers or materialistic competitors, their society debilitated by pell-mell industrialism.

After a period in New York doing journalistic hack-work, he accepted an instructorship at Stanford but quit after two years, complaining that teaching did not allow enough time for thinking. Back in England, he did more thinking and much writing. Perhaps in an effort to find links to the practical, he also did some teaching at the Workers' Educational Association. Brooks described himself as all for British socialism, but "on the understanding that the leveling was to be not down but up." In any case, he cared far more for literature than politics.[16] Giving New York another try he made friends with a group of young social critics and bohemians and was soon helping edit one of the most exciting of the little magazines, *The Seven Arts*.

Although the message of *America's Coming-of-Age*, published in 1915, was broadly cultural, namely, that America was now ready to unite the crucial elements of culture that the Puritans had sundered, Brooks took as his point of departure the state of higher education. Never again would he write so extensively on that subject. The very first

page attacked economics as taught in American universities: "It revolves round and round in its tree-top dream of the economic man; and . . . never comes down." As to the professors of literature, they limited their subject to dead writers and displayed "habitual remoteness from the creative mood."[17]

In describing institutions of higher education, he gave short shrift to state universities and land-grant institutions, or what he called "modern utilitarian universities." He was more interested in older colleges with strong religious roots. As these institutions existed in the early twentieth century, the Puritan God was no longer served, but an unearthly remoteness remained. Students encountered ideals so vague and intangible that they could not be absorbed. Ideals became "permanently catalogued in the mind as impracticable." College life might be recalled as a golden age, but on the whole it bred cynicism. For the graduate, theory was a world to itself, while practice meant "a world of dollars." Those educated in American colleges and universities could never let "the poetry of life" serve, as it should, "in harnessing thought and action together, turning life into a disinterested adventure." The irrelevance of the baccalaureate sermon was emblematic of the problem.[18]

"Disinterested adventure" comes close to Brooks's ideal for the good university as well as the good life. He did not call for universities to become more "practical," the state universities and land-grants had already gone too far in that direction. But he wanted universities to shift from "mere idealism" and find a grounding in human needs, artistic impulses, and social experience. He saw some hope for this advance at Harvard. In an article written soon after graduation, he had mixed praise and blame for Harvard's individualistic ethos. Its effect on the insufficiently developed was "a pseudo-culture, a cynicism, or an effeminacy." But in others it made for "a breadth of appreciation, moral as well as intellectual, and for an intensity and mastership in special departments of thought." Harvard had, after all, launched him on his "disinterested adventure."[19]

Few thinkers have undergone as dramatic a change of mind as did Brooks. Having written of the disastrous effects of American life on Mark Twain and Henry James, Brooks began a study of Emerson, whom he had described in America's *Coming-of-Age* as possessing "little natural sense of the relation between the abstract and the concrete."[20] In the long process of writing this book, accompanied by struggles with severe emotional illness, he found what he had earlier called for: a usable past. Emerson, it emerged, had relished facts, nature, and everyday things, presenting these as inextricably connected to the realm of the ideal. As the historian Steven Biel has put it, Emerson became for Brooks "the outstanding figure in an American prophetic tradition that combined independence and involvement, letters and leadership."[21]

Brooks now began to write *The Flowering of New England*, whose title revealed its positive view of the American cultural past. Published in 1936, it won plaudits from the popular press as well as some scholars, and launched his five-volume *Makers and Finders* series. The optimism of this series was a tonic for a nation passing through the agonies of depression and war.

Did his newly affirmative view of American culture extend to universities? The evidence is fugitive. Certainly in the *Makers and Finders* series Harvard appears as a healthy part of the benign Cambridge atmosphere that nourished so many literary talents. In his correspondence with Lewis Mumford, however, he sometimes echoed Mumford's criticisms. When Mumford wrote in 1939 of the "complacency [that] surrounds Harvard like a layer of protective fat," Brooks agreed, saying that he had ob-

served the same thing when serving on a visiting committee to the English department. He wouldn't live around Harvard for any reward; still, he regarded other universities as worse. Stanford, he recalled, was "ten times worse." Five years later, Brooks estimated his influence in the colleges as nil. "But I detest 'English Depts.' anyway and don't care overmuch what they think."[22] It appears then that Brooks in his later years took so highly personal a view of universities that he scarcely counts as a critic. The American tradition that he was busy resuscitating was literary not academic.

For H. L. Mencken there was no danger that nostalgia for his alma mater would sweeten his acerbities concerning academia. He never went to college, although he graduated in 1896 from a public high school, Baltimore Polytechnic. Keenly intelligent, he drew on a Germanic family tradition of respect for learning. After a period in the family cigar-making firm, he shifted to newspaper reporting, wnere he thrived in a lively journalistic bohemia. Herman Melville called a whaling ship his Harvard and his Yale; Mencken might have said the same about the city. There he escaped what he described as the fate of "respectable bourgeois youngsters" at college, who were "affronted with balderdash daily and hourly by chalky pedagogues."[23] Later as reviewer and editor for *Smart Set*, he won a wide readership and helped carry much of the *fin de siécle* moral rebellion over to the Little Renaissance of Greenwich Village. In prose that moved excitingly from light satire to biting invective, he attacked gentility, optimism, uplift, and commercialism. During the 1920s his cultural criticism for the *American Mercury* enthralled a generation of restless students, though they were far from his only devotees.[24]

When his suspected pro-Germanism blocked journalist outlets during World War I, he turned to a scholarly project, his massive *The American Language*, which he later continued with revisions and supplementary volumes. This exploration of the distinctiveness of American usage, grounded in imaginative research, won and still holds the respect of the academic world. Not that he returned the compliment in any large measure. In Mencken's own encounter with the work of university philologists while working on the book, he judged their all-too-diligent publications as "little save a vast laboring of the obvious, with now and then a bold flight into the nonsensical." He recognized a few, but only a few, "genuinely original philologians."[25]

Since he scoffed at most established institutions in the United States, it is no surprise that universities evoked his scorn. His position in the early Twenties is accessible in his review of Upton Sinclair's muckraking book on higher education, The *GooseStep*. Mencken felt confident that his regular readers would not be surprised by Sinclair's thesis, namely, "that the American colleges and universities, with precious few exceptions, are run by stock-jobbers and manned by intellectual prostitutes," but he did admit that Sinclair offered something new on the subject: "a plain record of plain facts." In order to get the money to expand facilities with "piles of pseudo-Gothic," universities had sacrificed free inquiry. There might still be scholarly freedom in astronomy and paleontology, but economics, modern history, and even literature were kept on a tight rein. Disgustingly, university presidents had begun to come from tile ranks of "army officers, lame-duck politicians, and engineers." The tiny fraction of professors that had the courage and will to join the young American Association of University Professors (AAUP) did not strike Mencken as a saving remnant. He saw some hope in students, however, who had begun challenging their professors and might even take on trustees.[26]

With another exposé of higher education, Thorstein Veblen's *The Higher Learning in America*, Mencken was much less happy. He assaulted its prose style and declared its

concepts "childishly obvious." Showing no awareness of Veblen's frequent falls from grace as a faculty member, Mencken tried to strengthen his attack by ponderous references to "Professor Veblen" and sometimes "Prof. Dr. Veblen," as if the author were a pillar of the academic community he was criticizing. Though granting that Veblen had described the academic president well, Mencken used his own words to evoke the horror of this personage: "a perambulating sycophant and platitudinarian, a gaudy mendicant and bounder, engaged all his life, not in the battle of ideas, the pursuit and dissemination of knowledge, but in the courting of rich donkeys and the entertainment of mobs." As a polemical stylist, the Baltimorean did perhaps have an edge over Veblen.[27]

About the time of these comments, Mencken was complaining that professors had too much influence-in weeklies of opinion, in art appraisal, and in government. One had even become President, or as Mencken, who did not appreciate Woodrow Wilson, put it, "sovereign of the country, and pope of the state church." The trouble was that the professor "is almost invariably inclined to seek his own security in mellifluous inanity. . . . In brief . . . he yields to the prevailing correctness of thought." Wartime had shown these tendencies at their worst.[28]

An intellectual elitist, Mencken held it against professors that so many of them came from the sticks. They lacked any tradition of "aristocratic aloofness and urbanity." What they brought to "the academic grove" was "dullness, superficiality, a great credulity, an incapacity for learning anything save a few fly-blown rudiments, a passionate yielding to all popular crazes, a malignant distrust of genuine superiority, a huge megalomania."[29] Could he really have meant it? He seems to have been on good terms with several of the professors at Baltimore's Johns Hopkins. But then, he always granted that there were exceptions.

MACDONALD AND KAZIN

The modal "New York intellectual" is a New York-born son of East European Jewish immigrants, getting his college education as a commuter student, usually at City College, and participating in radical politics. As a variant, Dwight Macdonald often appears on select lists of the group. Born on the Upper West Side, he came from a financially comfortable Protestant family, which in the 1920s moved, very properly, to the East Side. His mother changed the spelling of the family name to prevent its being mistaken for Irish. After his preparatory education at Phillips Exeter, he attended his father's alma mater, Yale.

As a gadfly Macdonald began young, using his writing in student periodicals to expose Yale's inadequacies. He detested academic officialdom and found the English department ludicrously mediocre. He derided the vacuity of the charismatic Professor William Lyon Phelps, famed as an after-dinner speaker, and wrote a column objecting to Phelps's pretensions in offering a Shakespeare course. Only a threat of expulsion suppressed the offending piece. As Michael Wreszin notes in his lively new biography of Macdonald, for years he could say only one favorable thing about Yale: "the authorities did not prevent him from using the library."[30]

Although he won several literary prizes before graduating in 1928, Macdonald was at first drawn to the retailing business in New York. Then, depressed by his lack of success at Macy's, he felt a tug toward further academic work. He wrote a friend, "I will probably end up by going back to the universities as the dog returns to his vomit and

having despised the race of college professors above all others, end up by becoming a second-rate one myself."[31] The attitude here toward higher education is, to say the least, ambivalent. In any case he did not pursue further formal study. In time he found a well-paid position writing for *Fortune*, where an assignment to cover the steel industry helped radicalize him. The Great Depression convinced him of the hopelessness of capitalism and the bankruptcy of liberal democracy. In 1937 he joined in the revival of the *Partisan Review* as a journal of anti-Stalinist radical politics and avant-garde cultural criticism.

Through all the phases of his political radicalism, Macdonald continued to be a cultural elitist. He blamed the exploiters of the masses for churning out pabulum, but he thought the masses shared some of the responsibility. This blend of leftwing politics and support of high culture, plus his intellectual range and engaging style, made him an ideal writer for the *Partisan Review*. His articles rarely touched academic life, other matters seeming much more important, but there is evidence of his continuing disdain for universities. For instance, he tried to have the editors dump his old college friend E. W. Dupee as "too academic," and was pleased when Dupee left, not surprisingly, for a college professorship.[32]

While World War II moved many of his associates to a strong nationalist position, Macdonald persisted in his belief that the United States was involved in an imperialist war and that the government exemplified "totalitarian liberalism." Encouraging nonparticipation in the war effort, he shifted to a position of pacifism and anarchism, just when other New York intellectuals were drifting toward the celebration of their nation and their culture. The result was his departure from the *Partisan Review* to found his own journal, *Politics*, which during its lifespan from 1944 to 1949 raised a fault-finding voice in a country eagerly seeking the fruits of victory.

After *Politics* folded, Macdonald became a film and book critic for the *New Yorker*, where he gained a reputation for defending high culture against the inroads of philistinism. But his long review of Michael Harrington's *The Other America*, dramatizing the failure of industrial capitalist society to prevent poverty, made the book a bestseller with important influence on Great Society programs.

The review's eloquent outrage at American social injustice forecast Macdonald's sympathy with the growing protest of the 1960s, especially the anti-Vietnam War movement. Although he deplored the student rebels' indifference to cultural standards, he found that they echoed his own earlier objections to academic bureaucrats as well as his attacks on the centralized warfare state. When in April, 1968, followers of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and African American students began occupying buildings at Columbia University and setting up communes, he could hardly avoid feeling sympathy. Urged to come uptown to the campus if he wanted to see a real revolution, he responded. He entered the occupied buildings and offered his support, being particularly pleased with the communal manner of proceeding.

Shocked by his behavior, some of his acquaintances on the Columbia faculty labeled him an "aging intellectual camp follower of the Youth Cult." He compounded his offense by sending out a letter asking for money to support SDS and holding a fund-raising party in his apartment. The extra-legal pressure by the students, he maintained, was necessary given the war, poverty, and racism, plus university complicity in all of them.[33]

Invited to address a counter-commencement ceremony at Columbia, he flatteringly compared the protesters' actions to the Boston Tea Party, but he provoked boos with certain criticisms of students, especially their call for "two, three, many Columbias." Destruction of the university must not be the goal, he said. Nothing could replace it, and it played a valuable role in countering "the already oppressive standards in the nation."[34]

The reference to standards was revealing. Macdonald had never let his political radicalism excuse tawdry culture. When Columbia students resisted the efforts of SDS the next fall, Macdonald agreed with them.[35] Two years later, he returned to Yale during demonstrations in support of Bobby Seale, the Black Panther leader indicted for murder. Unlike many alumni, Macdonald admired the reactions of President Kingman Brewster, who voiced his doubts that Seale would receive a fair trial and opened Yale auditoriums for seminars and protest speeches. Moreover, some Yale professors proved to be activists. The time was ripe for a rapprochement between Macdonald and academia.[36]

He shortly began a series of visiting professorships at six different universities, often fulltime. He proved a superb teacher, deeply interested in individual students and beloved by staff members, who found him utterly free of academic snobbery. He sold his papers to Yale, one of the institutions where he taught. Probably he was happiest, however, at grittier institutions such as SUNY—Buffalo and John Jay College of Criminal Justice. He particularly liked commuter students, often working people devoted to further learning, and at John Jay he joined in the protest marches during a budget crisis.[37] Higher education for him had more than the virtues of amassing libraries and preserving standards; it could be a place of social criticism, including criticism directed at itself.

In his subcategorization of the New York intellectuals, the historian Neil Jumonville counts Dwight Macdonald among the "dissenters" and Alfred Kazin among, the "affirmers."[38] Nine years younger than Macdonald, Alfred Kazin was among the radical undergraduates at City College, which he entered in 1931, but he avoided the all-too-common blinkered Stalinism and considered his socialism an extension of his Jewish family and neighborhood tradition. Literature was Kazin's great love, and while he was still a senior in college, a combination of talent and audacity made him a freelance book reviewer for the *New Republic*. It was characteristic that after earning an M.A. at Columbia, he did not pursue a Ph.D. but rather set to work on a study of the roots of twentieth-century American literature. The resulting book, *On Native Grounds*, appeared in 1942, marking Kazin as a major presence in American literary criticism.

Teaching at about a dozen institutions over the years, he did not create the curriculum vitae of a career-building academic. His writing was more important to him, even though he often enjoyed teaching. A dedicated diarist, he recorded responses to host institutions that bespeak a participant observer more than a professional among colleagues. His extensive autobiographical writings are dotted with humane but skeptical judgments on places he taught.

As a teacher at City College evening sessions in the summer of 1938, he found his students tired out after working all day, looking discouragingly "stupefied with the heat." In time he found teaching there wearisome, resenting students who resisted literary originality if they judged its origins "bourgeois" or "liberal." Some of his colleagues were worse-Stalinist ideologues who "ground out the literary law." But his researches in the New York Public Library remained joyfully fulfilling.[39]

Later, during a teaching stint in North Carolina at the experimental communitarian college, Black Mountain, he found that "the demands of the students for constant enlightenment, information, moral sustenance, and total friendship could be frightening. The place was essentially a village with more respect for self-government than for learning." At Smith College the brilliance of Sylvia Plath in his creative writing course helped make up for other students whose stories were "thoroughly phony." But when Smith called back its prize student, she found herself, she confided to Kazin, "just another overworked and overlooked junior instructor." At nearby Amherst College, where Kazin had accepted a tenured professorship, he found himself barred from the English department, whose head he judged surrounded by sycophants. In his words "Amherst was big on 'teaching,' not private learning and dissident opinions." Social life was discouragingly provincial and the issue of who would get tenure subversive of both social and intellectual interchange.[40]

Troubled by student actions during the Columbia building seizures of 1968 and other eruptions of that incredible year, especially the scorn many protesters displayed for literature, libraries, and books, Kazin nevertheless often felt sympathy for student rebels. He shared their revulsion at the Vietnam War and could not deny accusations of academic involvement. He noted with transparent disapproval the earlier declaration of Berkeley's Clark Kerr that the American university had become "a prime instrument of national purpose," "the center of the knowledge process," which might well serve as "the focal point of national growth."[41]

Kazin's academic ideal has blended intellectual creativity and respect for traditional learning. This combination he sees at its best in a setting that keeps teachers and students at a mutually respectful distance. Colleagues may encourage and stimulate each other, but their private pursuit of inquiry matters most. In his distress at the media's exploitation of student rebellions and at the 1960s drive for "relevance," one recognizes a longing for an institution more austerely dedicated to the life of the mind.

This independent intellectual has warned of dangers in the increasing openness of newly prosperous universities to writers. They might too easily be softened up by the institutional ethos. As he put it, "Academic life thrives on co-operative specialization, on a body of scholars who not only answer to each other but who all need each other. It thrives on promotions, honors, acceptance—and on publication at any price." These qualities were, to put it mildly, distractions for a creative writer or critic.[42]

It may help us understand Kazin's disinclination to settle into academe if we consider his observation evoked by the appearance in 1960 of yet another satirical academic novel. "There are so many novelists, poets, and critics teaching in America that it sometimes seems as if the only human activity they can write about <u>is</u> the academic life. Whenever the writer has had to repress, to tone down, to meet with, it has become routine for him to bite the hand that has just fed him. . . ."[43] This "toning down" was perhaps the greatest threat from the security academic life offered. Kazin did ultimately serve for over two decades at two metropolitan area universities in the somewhat detached position of "distinguished professor." But as in earlier posts, he remained the critic, healthily unassimilable.

Is there any good way to sum up what six loosely grouped and rather arbitrarily chosen critics had to say about academe? They took themselves seriously, they knew how to write, and they were not afraid to express strong opinions. These outsiders drew

attention to weaknesses often overlooked by men and women who were busy building institutions or scholarly careers.

It is hard to imagine that those thoughtfully concerned about academic life will ever fail to find enlightenment in Emerson's, "The American Scholar" or Kazin's, "The Writer and the University." On the other hand, Mencken's polemicism has dated badly, though his negations do indicate a definite vision of what a university should be. Thoreau was not very specific, and Brooks forced his description of universities into a preconceived model and then lost interest. Macdonald's changing views of SDS are perhaps his most valuable critical legacy concerning academic matters.

Although these writers contradicted each other and contradicted themselves, some modest generalizations seem defensible. The critics were gentler with their alma mater than with higher education at large. They tended to grow more sympathetic with academic patterns as they grew older, in part because those patterns were changing in ways they approved, such as freer choice of courses for students and protection of free expression. The critics cared most of all to have higher education true to the life of the mind as they understood it. Always this involved a rich, accessible library. It meant teaching that stirred students' aspirations. It meant insightful, careful research, not grubbing for inert facts or publishing for publication's sake.

Oddly enough, as the universities became richer and more complex and inclusive, as they were creating the administrative apparatus that Mencken and Macdonald so disliked, they were also opening up space for creative writers and social critics. Sometimes these came as visitors, with no long-term commitment but with keen social perceptions. Hence the satiric novels, the penetrating journal entries, the later barbed recollections. But as standards of academic freedom spread, as the AAUP gained stature and influence, universities became more attractive homes for social critics. If tenure has sometimes led to the "toning down" that Kazin warned of, it has also protected the likes of C. Wright Mills, who managed to be both a professor and a fiery social critic. In fact, as I worked on this paper, I experienced some doubts about my definition of "independent intellectual" with its exclusion of those who have pursued academic careers. But I do see persisting distinctions. The academic is a professional and a specialist; the independent intellectual boldly crosses disciplinary lines, hopes to reach a general audience, and writes with an eye to immediate social relevance. Social critics are less concerned than professional scholars to make sure their facts are right, and they know that only little minds fret about a foolish consistency.

Perhaps the healthiest thing for the university is for there to be courageous insiders who will criticize their institutional homes and work for needed changes, but also outside critics whose writing is so trenchant that the insiders will find in it stimulus and challenge. At least some of the outsiders considered here successfully played that role.

NOTES

[1] For a broad treatment of such intellectuals, protesting their recent tendency to become academics, see Russell Jacoby, *The Last Intellectuals: American Culture in the Age of Academe* (New York: 1987).

[2] "The American Scholar," in *Ralph Waldo-Emerson*, ed. Richard Poirier (New York: 1990), 40, 42.

[3] Emerson, "Historic Notes of Life and Letters in New England," in *The Transcendentalists: An Anthology*, ed. Perry Miller (Cambridge, Mass.: 1950), 497, 496.

[4] Joel Porte, ed., *Emerson in His Journals*, entry for 1 May 1846 (Cambridge, Mass.: 1982), 352–53.

[5] *The Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, vol. 6 (Boston, n.d.), *The Conduct of Life*, 150, 139.

[6] Porte, *Emerson in His Journals*, entries for December 1866–April 1867, 543.

[7] "New England Reformers," *Works*, vol. 3 in Essays: Second Series, 246.

[8] Porte, *Emerson in His Journals*, entry for July 1849, quotation on 501; entry for March 1862.

[9] Richard Lebeaux, *Young Man Thoreau*, chap. 3 (Amherst, Mass.: 1977).

[10] Thoreau, *Walden* (Boston: 1902 [originally published 1854]), 79–83.

[11] Letter to Richard F. Fuller, 2 April 1843, *The Writings of Henry David Thoreau*, vol. 6 (Boston: 1906), *Familiar Letters*, 67.

[12] Ibid., 252.

[13] Letter to Emerson, 14 November 1847, ibid., 138.

[14] *Writings*, vol. 13, *Journal*, 68, entry of 31 December 1859.

[15] Henry F. May, *The End of American Innocence: A Study of the First Years of Our Own Time, 1912–1917* (New York: 1959), esp. part 3; James R. Vitelli, *Van Wyck Brooks* (New York: 1969), 25–29.

[16] Brooks, *From the Shadow of the Mountain: My Post-Meridian Years* (New York: 1961), 83.

[17] Brooks, *America's Coming-of-Age* (New York: 1958 [originally published 1915]), 1–2. Similarly, Brooks, "On Creating a Usable Past," *Dial* 64 (11 April 1918), 338.

[18] Brooks, *America's Coming-of-Age*, 11–15.

[19] Ibid., 16; "Harvard and American Life," *Contemporary Review* 94 (December 1908), 617.

[20] Brooks, *America's Coming-of-Age*, 40.

[21] Steven Biel, *Independent Intellectuals in the United States, 1910–1945* (New York: 1992), 181.

[22] Robert E. Spiller, ed., *The Van Wyck Brooks Lewis Mumford Letters: The Record of a Literary Friendship, 1921–1963* (New York: 1970), 170, 172, 259–60.

[23] Mencken, *Newspaper Days, 1899–1906* (New York: 1941), p. ix.

[24] Douglas C. Stenerson, "Mencken, Henry Louis," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, supp. 6, pp. 443–47.

[25] Mencken, *Prejudices: Third Series* (New York: 1922), 251.

[26] Mencken, *Prejudices: Fifth Series* (New York: 1926), 133–41.

[27] Mencken, *Prejudices: First Series* (New York: 1919), 71, 73, 82.

[28] Mencken, *Prejudices: Second Series* (New York: 1920), 81–82.

[29] Mencken, *Prejudices: Third Series*, 254–55.

[30] Michael Wreszin, *A Rebel in Defense of Tradition: The Life and Politics of Dwight Macdonald* (New York: 1994), 15, 20. My entire treatment of Macdonald draws heavily on this excellent biography.

[31] Ibid., 22.

[32] Ibid., 92–93.

[33] Ibid., 448, 451–53. For his exchange with critics in the New York Review of Books, see Macdonald, *Discriminations: Essays and Afterthoughts, 1938–1974* (New York, 1974), 450–65.

[34] Wreszin, *Rebel in Defense of Tradition*, 454–56.

[35] Macdonald, *Discriminations*, 466.

[36] Wreszin, *Rebel in Defense of Tradition*, 466–69.

[37] Ibid., 471, 477, 479–80.

[38] Neil Jumonville, *Critical Crossings: The New York Intellectuals in Postwar America* (Berkeley, Calif.: 1991).

[39] Kazin, *Starting Out in the Thirties* (Boston: 1965), 134, 138.

[40] Kazin, *New York Jew* (New York: 1978), 100, 110–17, 227, 233.

[41] Ibid., 258–66.

[42] Kazin, "The Writer and the University," in *The Inmost Leaf: A Selection of Essays* (New York: 1955), 250.

[43] Kazin, "The Poet against the English Department," in *Contemporaries* (Boston: 1962), 489.

Rethinking Boundaries: The History of Women, Philanthropy, and Higher Education

ANDREA WALTON

By virtue of the lens they adopt, historians illuminate different aspects of the university's relationship to society and offer varied perspectives on the forces and actors that shape the university's character and borders. This study of Grace Hoadley Dodge (1856–1915), a founding trustee and treasurer of Teachers College, Columbia University and Elsie Clews Parsons (1874–1941), a patron-scholar of Columbia anthropology, uses the lens of philanthropy to provide new perspectives on the permeable nature of the university's boundaries. Blending institutional history and biography, the study examines the ways benefaction and service became avenues for women's meaningful participation in institution- and discipline-building at a paradigm-setting university.

By virtue of the lens they adopt, historians illuminate different aspects of the university's relationship to society and offer varied perspectives on the forces and actors that shape the university's character and borders. To illustrate, scholars of higher education have generally depicted the history of the university as a story bounded by the campus gates. Much historical writing in higher education has focused heavily on internal dynamics—organizational structure, presidential leadership, faculty careers, and student activities. By contrast, historians of philanthropy have emphasized the role of external factors in shaping the university. Philanthropic studies have documented and analyzed the influence of large national foundations and the sway of great institution-builders, the likes of donors John D. Rockefeller, Leland and Jane Stanford, and Ezra Cornell. Finally, historians of women's experience have depicted the university as an institution of power and privilege that has often excluded or marginalized women. Historians of women in education have explored the ways women challenged the boundaries of the male-dominated university by fighting for opportunities as students and scholars.[1]

This study contributes to the existing literature in three areas: the history of higher education, the history of philanthropy, and the history of women in education. It seeks to broaden our understanding of the university and its boundaries by studying the enduring and meaningful ties women were able to achieve and sustain to institutions of higher learning through philanthropy.

Andrea Walton is an Assistant Professor of Education at Indiana University at Bloomington, where she teaches in the Foundations of Education and the Higher Education programs. Special thanks to Hamid Mubarak for his helpful comments on the draft manuscript and to the Indiana University Center on Philanthropy for a Lilly Faculty Research Grant to complete this study.

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Understanding the ways philanthropy enabled women to cross certain boundaries—to participate in the life of the university and to transcend or enlarge upon certain expectations of "womanhood"—combines institutional history and biography.[2] The focus is an elite, eastern institution, Columbia University, and the motivations and achievements of two women who were affiliated with it during the pre-World War II years—Grace Hoadley Dodge (1856–1914) and Elsie Clews Parsons (1875–1941). The former was a founder and trustee of Columbia's graduate school of education, Teachers College; the latter was a scholar-patron who figured prominently in developing the study of anthropology at Columbia. These women were well known in their lifetimes, and a good deal has been written about them individually. But their careers have not been considered together as educators and philanthropists. Their juxtaposition in these roles provides insights into the motivations of women's educational philanthropy and deeper understanding of the permeability of the university's departmental and institutional boundaries.

As will be evident in the biographies of Grace Hoadley Dodge and Elsie Clews Parsons, philanthropy has more dimensions than the tally of gifts or the writing of cheques. Indeed, there is a personal element in philanthropy that warrants greater attention.[3] Philanthropy is a relationship of power or exchange; perhaps even a process of education, between giver and receiver. It is a relationship that holds meaning for both parties.[4] From the founding of this country, philanthropy and education have been deeply interwoven. Giving and serving have been a culturally acceptable way for women to contribute to civic and intellectual life by supporting educational enterprises. Moreover, education has often been the philanthropist's method of reform and uplift. For Dodge and Parsons, and indeed for many women, engaging in philanthropy itself was educative and liberating; it enabled them to invest personal meaning, including gender-specific concerns, into giving. Educational philanthropy was an avenue by which women might pursue and promote personal, intellectual, and social goals.[5]

The study of educational philanthropy, when refracted through the lens of individual lives intersecting with institutions, provides a valuable tool for examining the relationship among the history of philanthropy, the history of higher education, and the history of women in education. An understanding of how these three strands of history help situate the story of the university in the study of American culture is best captured by the work of Merle Curti. In fact, Curti's writing inspired this study of Dodge and Parsons and their ties to Columbia University.

In the late 1950s Curti hoped to open up scholarly research on philanthropy, which he identified as "one of the major aspects of and keys to understanding American social, cultural, and intellectual development."[6] Curti's interest in the cultural phenomenon of philanthropy dated back to his 1927 doctoral study of the American Peace Crusade.[7] But it was only later, in the post-World War II period of his career, that Curti's thinking about the patterns of giving in the U.S. crystallized. Indeed, he played a pivotal role in defining and stimulating the study of philanthropy as a field of historical research.[8] To Curti, the study of philanthropy was a way of seeing the familiar world of American history and culture, including education, in a fundamentally new light. In two path breaking articles, both appearing in the 1950s, Curti set forth an ambitious research agenda (a rationale for a large-scale history project at the University of Wisconsin) that sought to relate the scholarly study of philanthropy to diverse aspects of the nation's

history—among them, religious traditions, "national character," taxation, social reform, voluntary associations, and the development of colleges and universities.[9]

Curti's history project at Wisconsin never addressed the entirety of his vast agenda, but the network of scholars linked with it produced a substantial body of well-grounded literature, including several studies related to education.[10] One volume in particular, *Philanthropy in the Shaping of American Higher Education* which Curti co-authored with his student Roderick Nash, remains a useful guide to anyone studying the field.[11] Now over thirty-five years old, the Curti-Nash study is dated by its abiding belief in educational progress and American exceptionalism, but the work merits reconsideration on at least three counts. First, it resonates with themes about the politics and influence of external support, and hence considers issues that are relevant today given higher education's increased reliance on philanthropic funding. Second, the Curti-Nash text offers a broad view of the scope and influence of philanthropy. Its analysis enlarges upon what might have been a narrowly-defined, straightforward account of endowments, fundraising, or "bricks and mortar" donations by probing the motivations of giving and offering insights into the impact, whether conservative or innovative, of philanthropy on different types of institutions, people, and ideas.[12] Third, and most important here, the text provides a lens for situating the study of philanthropy and the study of higher education within the study of American culture.

By documenting not only large financial gifts from men, but also smaller benefactions, like Lady Mowlson's endowment to Harvard or the funds raised for colleges by women's sewing circles and church baazars, Curti and Nash illustrated the historic importance of women's giving to institutions of higher education, even before women had access to formal higher education themselves.[13] By focusing not only on men's education but on colleges for women, Curti and Nash began to tell the story of how philanthropy affected the educational experience of different social groups, including those who had been marginalized or had been excluded from the earliest institutions of higher learning in this country.[14] Further, the authors were not unaware of the ambiguities raised by private support for institutions nor unquestioning of the nature of benevolence. Indeed, Curti and many of his students had begun to conceptualize and write what many historians call for today—a more inclusive and contextualized history of higher education.[15]

Curti's substantive work on philanthropy has received uneven attention from scholars over the years, and thus has never fostered the type of collaborative inquiry or intellectual cross-fertilization he envisioned.[16] In the 1990s, though, a number of scholars working in women's history to explore female traditions of philanthropy, which had been relatively neglected since Curti's efforts.[17] In particular, Kathleen McCarthy's edited volume *Lady Bountiful Revisited* and Anne Firor Scott's *Natural Allies* generated new interpretations in the history of philanthropy by demonstrating how women often responded to their exclusion from men's philanthropic activities through the establishment of parallel structures of female institutions and networks. These separate activities allowed women to appropriate the cultural traditions of giving and serving and enabled women to bring private values to the public realm without stepping beyond the culturally sanctioned boundaries of "womanhood."

Like Curti in his era, contemporary scholars of women's philanthropy have been innovative in their approach to familiar aspects of U.S. history. Women's clubs and voluntary organizations, as well as women's leadership in the abolition and temperance

movements, have been documented as part of the larger task of "recovering" women's past.[18] The significance of these female activities, though, has been understood primarily within the framework of the history of nineteenth-century reform or the woman's movement and its intellectual and social antecedents. By bringing a different lens, that of philanthropy, to women's history, McCarthy, Nancy Hewitt, Suzanne Lebsock, Lori Ginzberg, and others have contributed new perspectives that are informed by and contribute to the literature in philanthropic studies and women's history. As McCarthy observed, recent studies in women's philanthropy have questioned the assumptions and emphases of earlier studies of separatism and sisterhood, thereby illuminating the complex ways that philanthropy has given women social status and at times accentuated and reinforced the differences among women.[19] Indeed, the philanthropic lens can shed new light on the types of power that were available to women and how women used these avenues to pursue personal and social goals.[20]

The scholarship on women's philanthropy to date has not dealt centrally with formal education, but this literature can, like Curti's work in the 1950s, provide a "touchstone" for advancing our understanding of the dimensions and significance of women's philanthropic ties to institutions of higher learning.[21] Further inspiration for such study can be found in Margaret Rossiter's classic study of women in science.[22] Rossiter has identified two types of giving—"creative" and "coercive"—that have provided leverage and aided women in their efforts to challenge the university's boundaries, namely to secure women's access to higher education and professional opportunities. (One recalls wealthy Mary Garrett's successful efforts to open Johns Hopkins Medical School to women.)

But what remains to be explored more fully is the range and influence of women's sustained commitments to institutions of higher education—especially the research university, the apex of the educational hierarchy—and the meaning such giving held for the developing university and for the individual women who gave or served. Systematic study of women's educational philanthropy will portray women as "radicals" and "conservators," and it will challenge stereotypes depicting women as inheritors and transmitters of knowledge rather than as original, creative thinkers or stewards of institutions devoted to innovation and discovery.[23] The lives of Dodge, a Christian steward, and Parsons, an independent-minded, university-trained scholar and disciplinary patron provide historical examples of how educational philanthropy became an avenue for women's meaningful participation in institution- and discipline-building and a source of both intellectual engagement and personal satisfaction.

A STEWARD: GRACE DODGE AND HER VISION OF EDUCATION FOR WOMEN AND GIRLS

When she died in 1915, Grace Dodge left nearly one-half million dollars and another portion of her estate to Teachers College [TC], Columbia University.[24] Her longstanding involvement with Teachers College came about by her earlier role as a funder and leader in TC's eleemosynary antecedents—the Kitchen Garden Association, the Industrial Education Association, and the New York College for the Training of Teachers. These enterprises had sought to introduce industrial education into public schooling and teaching training in New York City. As a founding trustee and treasurer of Teachers College,

Dodge through her own benefaction, active fund raising, and commitment to certain social values helped shape the character of the Teachers College community and the institution's standing at Columbia University. Dodge's philanthropic commitment to Teachers College can best be understood within the context of her life.

Born in 1856, Grace Hoadley Dodge, the eldest of six children of William E. Dodge, Jr., and his wife Sarah Hoadley, grew up in an affluent Madison Avenue home, but hers was not a life of leisure. She was raised in an extended family of civic-minded men and women whose daily example and biblical teachings imbued her with the evangelical ideals of Christian service and duty. From these adults, and by extension from the guests their household welcomed—passionate reformers like Dwight Moody and Daniel Coit Gilman—Grace Dodge learned about giving and developed an appreciation of wealth as a trust.

Such lessons about giving and serving learned from family and religion were in fact more important in shaping Dodge's thinking and ambitions than formal education. Tutored privately at home during her childhood years, Dodge was sent as a teen to complete her studies at Miss Porter's School in Connecticut. By all accounts, her time studying away from home was unsettling. Dodge spent only two years, from 1872 to 1874, at Miss Porter's before getting her parents' permission to leave school and return home to New York City. She did so not to follow the life of a leisured "lady," but to pursue what she described as "loving God through work."[25] Her decision reflected cultural notions that affirmed female benevolence and was made possible by her family's financial circumstances.[26] Dodge, in fact, was carrying forth a family tradition of service and voluntarism that was rooted in evangelical Christianity. Passed from generation to generation, the ethos of giving touched the aspirations of male and female members of the extended Dodge family, strengthening familial bonds and ties between the family and an array of institutions in metropolitan New York, including the YMCA and Columbia University.[27]

Hoping to encourage and enable his daughter's philanthropic inclinations, William Dodge introduced Grace to two distinguished women who had devoted themselves to a public, philanthropic career: Josephine Shaw Lowell and Louise Lee Schuyler. Lowell was the founder of the Charity Organization Society, known as the COS. Schuyler had served in the U.S. Sanitary Commission and the State Charities Aid Association. Through these acquaintances, Grace Dodge became involved in the COS's Committee on the Elevation of the Poor in Their Homes, but it soon became apparent that her talents lent themselves to education rather than charity. Dodge was as comfortable conducting Sunday School classes at the Madison Square Chapel as teaching in the industrial schools sponsored by the Children's Aid Society.

Many young Christian women of Dodge's generation, resisting what Jane Addams described as the "family claim," moved to the settlement houses where they sought to test their beliefs and to apply their education to public service and social amelioration.[28] A single woman, Dodge assumed responsibility for the Dodge household and cared for her ill mother. Though she lacked the physical independence and college background that buoyed the career of settlement workers, she achieved an independent and spiritually meaningful identity for herself by drawing upon her family's traditions of giving. Whereas her male relatives were active supporters of civic and religious organizations for men, notably the YMCA, Grace Dodge translated and carried forth this tradition through her devotion to the YWCA, and to an array of organizations promoting the

education of girls and women. In fact, she would be elected to unify the YWCA as the first president of its national board in 1906.

Dodge's embrace of a life of service to others through education in its many forms rested partly in the lessons she learned from her family's Social Gospel activities and partly in her elevated vision of Christian womanhood. Like many men and women of the middle- or upper-classes, Dodge affirmed women's distinctive, and ostensibly superior, moral qualities. The ideals were to be cultivated, and women such as Dodge were in a position to devote time and money to this cause. Thus it was not surprising that Dodge did not hesitate and, in fact readily agreed, when she was approached by a group of female silk workers for her guidance and assistance in forming their own club.

Her concern with these particular young women, which gave rise to a lifelong commitment to the education and welfare of "working girls," was shaped by religious conviction and influenced by the nineteenth century's deep-seated ambivalence toward urban life. Many social hygiene reformers, Dodge among them, were concerned that harsh economic realities and living conditions of the city might ruin women and jeopardize middle-class standards of purity.[29] What little we know from Dodge's interaction with the working girls suggests that she believed the relationship was one of mutual education.[30] From her vantage point, the female workers challenged any facile sense of noblesse oblige on her part, forcing her as a "giver" to think about the impact of her philanthropy on the "receiver"—or as she put it, to consider the class politics of working "with" rather than "for."[31] In Dodge's view working girls' education linked women's growing self-reliance and social reform. It thus was as worthy and vital to building and sustaining community life as was the role of formal higher education. She regarded her voluntary club work as a career and described herself as a wage-earner whose salary was "paid in advance."[32]

STEWARD OF AN IDEA: FROM THE KITCHEN GARDEN ASSOCIATION TO TEACHERS COLLEGE

By the early 1880s, Dodge was a well-regarded leader in working girls' education and industrial education. In 1886 she acquired another avenue of influence when she became one of two women commissioners appointed by Mayor Grace to the Board of Education. Dodge's family background, her own education, and her focus on practical education and knowledge as the fulcrum of social reform help explain why she became so deeply identified with the privately-funded Kitchen Garden Association and the Industrial Education Association (known as the KGA and IEA respectively), which sponsored classes for children and teachers in hopes of eventually introducing industrial education into the New York City public schools. The events that shaped the KGA and IEA's reorganization first as the New York College of Teaching, and then as Teachers College in 1892, and its affiliation a year later with Columbia University shed light on the ties between private, civic initiatives in urban education—philanthropic activities to which women contributed significantly—and the ad-hoc process of university building.[33]

Dodge was one of the few individuals whose personal circumstances and sustained commitment to the ideas and values for which the KGA and the IEA stood enabled her to oversee this institutional evolution and to guide Teachers College's entrance into the

university. Dodge's involvement dated back to the 1880 founding of the all-female Kitchen Garden Association, which was inspired by reformer Emily Huntington's efforts to teach household skills to young female immigrants and working girls. According to Huntington, the tenement conditions and pauperism that were a concern to citizens like Dodge were educational problems that could be ameliorated by fostering a "love of work."[34] Huntington's approach, which appealed to Dodge's sensibilities, aimed to blend Froebelian philosophy and the methods of kindergarteners.

In 1884 the KGA broadened its philanthropic mission to include the education of young boys and the group reorganized as the coeducational Industrial Education Association. The IEA's guiding principles, outlined in the "Articles of Faith," asserted that education as generally conceptualized "trains the memory too largely, the reasoning powers less, the eye and hand too little." According to the IEA, manual training was "not a form of specialized training, but an essential aspect of general education."[35] Though Alexander Webb, President of City College, was the new group's titular head, Dodge was in actuality responsible for daily affairs. Dodge thus played a role in 1887 when the IEA was chartered as the New York College for the Training of Teachers (soon to be renamed Teachers College) with the Columbia-trained philosopher Nicholas Murray Butler as president.[36] More important, Dodge's stewardship continued after 1893 when Teachers College became affiliated with Columbia as the university's professional school of education.[37]

AN ADVANTAGEOUS AFFILIATION: TEACHERS COLLEGE ENTERS COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

The Teachers College-Columbia University affiliation, though not without difficulties, was perceived to be mutually beneficial. Dodge and the reformers who had carried forth the core mission of the Kitchen Garden Association understood that achieving the types of reforms they advocated for New York City public schools required inroads into teacher training and that this goal could best be fostered by establishing ties to a university. From its vantage point, Columbia regarded bringing Teachers College into affiliation as consonant with efforts to modernize the university. Columbia's tenth president, Frederick A. P. Barnard, who in fact was an honorary member of the IEA, had advocated the scientific study of education as early as his annual report of 1881. But earlier attempts to introduce the university study of education at Columbia had been tabled by trustees for financial reasons and because they feared the possibility of coeducation.[38] By contrast, an affiliation with an established institution such as Teachers College meant that boundaries would preserve Columbia's prestige and all-male status. Columbia gained "an annex or adjunct to [its] theoretical and historical work in psychology and education" without financial expenditure or threat of feminization.[39]

This example of philanthropy's contributions to shaping the contours of the university is neither insignificant nor an isolated case. Only a few years earlier Columbia had responded to growing civic demands for women's liberal arts education by adopting this same strategy—i.e., by bringing an existing, philanthropically-funded institution, Barnard College, into the university's configuration. Like its association with Barnard, Columbia's affiliation with Teachers College represented a "fit" between the demands of its host city and the university's ambitious agenda for expansion and development. As part of

Columbia University, Teachers College would be well situated to further the goal of reforming public schools—a goal that Grace Dodge and Nicholas Murray Butler, now Columbia's president, shared. Yet the status-conscious university would be able to keep women, "special" preparatory students, normal school graduates, and coursework in less prestigious applied fields at a distance from the arts and sciences—psychically, organizationally, and physically.[40]

The possibility of strong and enduring ties between Teachers College and Columbia was not always certain. Informal ties between the two institutions lost ground when Butler resigned the TC presidency in 1891 to become dean of Columbia's newly-formed Faculty of Philosophy. Immersed in administrative and professorial duties at Columbia, Butler would in fact resign from the TC board in 1894.[41] And, Butler's relationship to Teachers College would change once again in 1901, when he succeeded Seth Low as president of Columbia University.

Despite the brevity of his TC association, Butler's recollections of the founding and early years of Teachers College were invested not only with a sense of the enterprise's importance, but of his importance to the enterprise. Butler's emphasis and interpretation in recounting TC's early years reflected the values and priorities of a university man vested in developing a professional school of education and in promoting the university study of education. In his descriptions of Teachers College's rise from earlier organizations—the KGA, IEA, and the New York College for Training of Teachers—Butler distanced TC's character and mission from that of its philanthropic antecedents. He defined the study of education as a field of expertise—a body of knowledge that was to be developed by university scholars—and, hence, drew distinctions between "philanthropic" and "educational" motives and enterprises. While such distinctions were vital to professionalizers, who believed in the science of education, they excluded certain groups of people and made less sense to individuals of Dodge's sensibilities, for whom philanthropy, religion, and education were fused.[42]

Though Butler's view of the founding of Teachers College became the standard account, one that ironically drew the boundaries of history in such a way as to eclipse the philanthropist Grace Dodge's role, Dodge's contemporaries did in fact recognize her crucial part in creating Teachers College, in fostering the institution's connection to the city, and in sustaining the institution during its early years. James Earl Russell, dean of TC from 1898 to 1927, with whom Dodge worked closely, incisively wrote, "Teachers College is the product of two confluent streams. One originated with President Barnard. . . . This is the idea of professional training for teachers as part of the work of a great University. The other stream started with Miss Dodge's interest in the girls and boys in the New York public schools . . . Teachers College came into existence, an institution which President Barnard had foreseen with prophetic vision but which awaited the time when Grace H. Dodge should energize it with her dynamic power."[43]

TRUSTEE AS FUNDRAISER, DONOR, AND TEACHER[44]

More recently scholars like Esther Katz and Ellen Condliffe Lagemann (whose studies published in the 1970s and 1980s brought the concerns of women's history to the study of education) looked beyond Butler's recollections and recognized Dodge's hand in the formative years at Teachers College.[45] The translation of the philanthropic sensibilities and ideals of the KGA and IEA at some level into Teachers College's campus life, even

as the study of education was becoming increasingly secularized, psychologized, and dominated by professional men, was a direct result of Dodge's unwavering commitment to certain social and religious values. Though Dodge was not in a position to participate in the intellectual framing of the academic study of education, she was able to advance TC as an institution. She worked tirelessly as a fund raiser and trustee to assure Teachers College's intellectual vigor, stability, and prominence against the pressures of competition from other institutions and worrisome deficits, even during the financial downturn of 1893.[46]

Her concern with intellectual standards and her efforts to sustain spiritual values and religious activities in the university's community became the hallmark of Dodge's efforts as a TC trustee.[47] Though few women served on boards of trustees, Dodge served with distinction as a TC board member and tne College's treasurer. She spoke eloquently and passionately to educate her board colleagues about the need to assure the intellectual and fiscal health of an institution held in trust: "We want Brains—more strong and clever men and women. We should have chairs endowed; but while waiting for this, we should be able to say to President Hervey, 'We will be responsible for ten or more thousands of dollars next year.'"[48]

Dodge's skill in offsetting debt, year after year, and her uncanny ability to interest prominent women and New York families—the Dodges, the Macys, the Thompsons, the Milbanks—in the work of Teachers College did not go unrecognized by colleagues and civic-minded New Yorkers.[49] J. P. Morgan, a tough-minded Wall Street financier who was not easily impressed, in fact once called Grace Dodge "the finest business brain in the United States."[50] But Dodge regarded her efforts to bring stability to Teachers College less as an obligation or a managerial responsibility, than as a heartfelt mission. Grace Dodge, in the spirit of stewardship, worked tenaciously through fund-raising letters, receptions, and personal solicitations to build a top-caliber faculty and to provide well-equipped facilities as well as to gain respect and cooperation for Teachers College within Columbia University. Her own generosity addressed the needs of students, such as funding scholarships for foreign students or paying for the tasteful appointment of meeting rooms for the university women. As a donor, she built the Household Arts Building, in her mother's memory (at a cost of nearly a half a million dollars) and through her own generosity and fund raising efforts gained substantial support for the domestic science and nursing programs that distinguished Teachers College in its scope and curricular diversity from many other early schools of education.[51]

Over the years, Dodge worked with Teachers College's first president Walter Hervey and his successor dean James Earl Russell (the change in the executive head's title reflects TC's ties to Columbia University), to build Teachers College's campus and curriculum.[52] Reflecting the emphases of her life experiences—her involvement in church, working girls' clubs, and the YWCA—Dodge brought concerns about developing the "religious and spiritual side of life" to the attention of decision-makers at Teachers College and, equally important, to members of the broader Columbia University community.[53] She cultivated these priorities through her attentiveness to chapel service and her interest in the curriculum. For example, she explored the ways ties between Teachers College and Union Theological Seminary might provide a foothold for nationally-recognized work in Bible study and religious education.[54] Her concern with the spirit and mind was at a variance with the prevailing trends of secularization, but her daily involvement with the college allowed her to keep the questions alive. In 1907 she

wrote, "I realize that our students are going out as great leaders in the educational world in the future, and that they should have the impress of this spiritual power, as well as so much else."[55]

Dodge's efforts in building Teachers College can only be more fully understood within the broader framework of the many interconnected social commitments she balanced with her university responsibilities. Dodge was not interested in a self-aggrandizing legacy; she viewed her service and support of Columbia's professional school of education as the institutionalization of an idea, of certain values carried forth by the KGA and the IEA. Her philanthropic contributions to Teachers College were related to her ongoing club work with immigrant and working girls and were consonant with her involvement in a host of educational enterprises that promoted self-reliance and civic uplift. Her actions reflected her belief in an elevated feminine morality and, hence, women's distinct contribution to the public good. While faithfully serving Teachers College, Dodge also assumed national leadership in the YWCA, served as chair of the board of trustees of a women's college in Constantinople, and continued her personal involvement in her original working girls' club.

Increasingly, though, Dodge felt the forces of professionalization working against the values that she and others in the KGA and IEA had embraced. Dean Russell hoped to encourage her by underscoring that the "missionary fervor" and "human element," indeed the "heart and soul," were as important as "intellect and business acumen," but increasingly professionalizing forces within the College and more sharply delineated roles for trustees, administrators, and faculty prevailed.[56] This tension was most evident in Dodge's concern that "psychology with its clean cut critical spirit" was displacing the Froebelian approach to the education of kindergarteners at Teachers College.[57] Dodge realized that "several of us in the old regime will either have to go out or change methods."[58] When she died in 1915, the religiously-suffused philanthropic values that she embraced, and which had animated her entire career, may have been losing or had lost ground in the academy. But Dodge's contribution, as a woman who was a steward over the institution she helped to found and who cared deeply for the intellectual, spiritual, and social needs of women of the college, left an impress.

SCHOLAR-PATRON: ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS— A "NEW" WOMAN AND A PROFESSIONAL SOCIAL SCIENTIST WITHOUT A FORMAL ACADEMIC APPOINTMENT[59]

As a member of the Women's Graduate Club at Columbia University in the 1890s, Elsie Clews Parsons had observed first-hand Grace Dodge's trusteeship and her acts of generosity and kindness to women across the university divisions.[60] Parsons's own philanthropy, though, took a different tack. As a young woman she was involved in settlement work, but her notable contributions as a philanthropist and educator came through her patronage of anthropological scholarship and her crucial role in cultivating the academic study of anthropology at Columbia. With a sustained pattern of timely gifts to Columbia's anthropology department (widely considered the nation's premier department) and to the larger profession—e.g., $200 for a doctoral student's fieldwork, $2,000 for a publication effort, and $1500 to provide a department secretary at Columbia—

Parsons created research and publication opportunities for Franz Boas and his students, and for herself.[61]

Born in 1874, Elsie Clews Parsons, like Grace Dodge, was the child of a prominent New York City family. Her father, Henry Clews, a Wall Street banker, was proud of his daughter's "intellectual capacity" but nonetheless believed in the Victorian ideology of separate spheres, which assigned sexually-differentiated roles to men and women.[62] Her mother, Lucy Madison Worthington Clews, hailed from an aristocratic Southern family. A woman who supposedly was allowed $10,000 a year for "fashion mistakes," she valued fashion more highly than books. Although willing to join upper-crust New Yorkers in lending her name to support Barnard College, New York City's "experiment" in women's education, Mrs. Clews frowned upon her own daughter's intellectual ambitions.[63] Schooling, she believed, cultivated a daughter's manners but higher education was meant only for those girls of lower social standing who might need to support their way in life by teaching. Whereas the Dodge household reflected the ethos of Social Gospel reform, one that allowed for women's Christian-minded public service, the Clews household embraced the strict gender conventions and status quo of fashionable late-nineteenth-century New York society.

Unlike Grace Hoadley Dodge for whom religion brought coherence to life, Parsons, who counted religion among the conventions she rejected, did not conceptualize wealth as a trust. But neither did Parsons embrace her parents' view of wealth as status.[64] For her, wealth was a key to independence and an avenue for achieving what she described, echoing Nietzche, as "the will to power." Impressed by her father's tenacity and perseverance in business affairs, Elsie Clews Parsons with similar zeal pursued quite different ends; she veered away from parental values and leisure-class expectations, away from prescribed "feminine" roles, and instead pursued the life of intellect and reason. The combination of her personal finances, social connections, and her intellectual and social ties to Columbia University, enabled Parsons to defy convention and customs and to craft her career as a freelance social scientist. As both a scholar and a patron, she supported a university department and a field of modern social science inquiry that promised to challenge the ideological underpinnings of established gender roles and the status quo.

Elsie Clews Parsons's "rebellion" against the rigid codes of Manhattan's fashionable society and the expectations her family set for her was reflected and enabled by her pursuit of higher education.[65] Parsons's decision to matriculate at Barnard in 1892 was daring and auspicious. Then located in a rented brownstone at 345 Madison Avenue (nearby Columbia at 49th Street), Barnard, though only three years old, was gaining a fine reputation. Barnard students were steeped in the ethos of classical learning in their daily studies, while their extracurricular activities brought them into contact with the city's reform and settlement efforts. Beginning what biographer Desley Deacon described as a "ten-year association with the settlement movement," Parsons served as the student elector of the Barnard Chapter of the College Settlement Association.[66] This student organization was sponsored by Dean Emily James Smith (later Putnam) and Dr. Emily Gregory, Barnard's only female faculty member. College-level academics provided Parsons with a framework for studying the social questions she was already formulating on her own and for understanding the causes of social conditions she observed directly. Studying the new social sciences, in particular, offered her an affirming, intellectual sense of "self-preservation against family and environment."[67] Parsons could

now anchor her social views with theory and, through her developing grasp of history, reach a more mature understanding of women's social status.

Parsons graduated from Barnard College in 1896. After earning her master's degree at Columbia in sociology, she embarked upon doctoral studies. She was one of the first women to benefit from Barnard Dean Smith's negotiations with Columbia's President Seth Low and the Columbia trustees to provide women with opportunities for graduate education. Though Parsons could not study in the Faculty of Political Science, which refused to admit women (succumbing to pressure by Dean John Burgess, a staunch opponent of coeducation), Parsons's interests were pursued instead in the Faculty of Philosophy. Her ideas were influenced by Nicholas Murray Butler's commanding grasp of educational philosophy and his civic interest in improving public education, by Herbert Osgood's knowledge of colonial history, and by the sociologist Franklin Giddings's concept of the "consciousness of kind."[68] Influenced by these professors, Parsons undertook a dissertation that combined her interests in education, legal systems, and women's history. She received her doctorate in 1899, with the publication of *The Educational Legislation and Administration of the Colonies*.

In the early phase of her career, from her Columbia graduate school days until 1905, Parsons was a lecturer at Barnard, where she taught courses on the family and guided students in settlement work. She combined her academic career with married family life, settlement work, municipal reform, and school board activities. (Her husband, Herbert Parsons, was a prominent Republican and an active participant in good government and settlement efforts.) Her early writings, several of which appeared in *Charities and the Commons*, drew from the familiar progressive idioms of education, economy, and efficiency. The pattern of her reform activities enabled Parsons to examine some questions that had preoccupied her since youth and brought her into professional contact with some of New York City's leading figures in social reform-among them, Lillian Wald, Mary Simkhovitch, and Florence Kelley, all of whom had in their own ways challenged traditional gender norms and committed themselves to working toward social change.[69]

Parsons's personal and public writings often reflected her concern with the lives of individuals and the proper relationship between the individual and the state. In her 1897 Columbia master's thesis on "Poor Relief in New York City," she elevated the "personal devotion" of private charity over public intervention and government determination of individual "worthiness" or "helpableness."[70] Within a decade, her articles appearing in *Charities* argued for a progressive "cooperation between public and private agents of education," more private day nurseries, voucher system school restaurants near public primary schools, and enlarged responsibilities for the school nurse and the school board.[71]

Parsons's genuine concern with aiding the city's poor and with developing the autonomy of city neighborhoods was coupled with concern for what was an unrecognized, and therefore unmet, vocational need among middle- and upper-middle-class women. She gained notoriety—and, notably, the praise of the philanthropist Olivia Sage—for her promotion of settlement work as a useful endeavor to lend some purposefulness to women's lives.[72] It was, as she put it, a plan "for girls with nothing to do."[73] Such young women, Parsons argued, needed a sense of direction, an avenue for becoming productive and for acquiring altruistic social values: "Girls are realizing more and more that the ability and freedom to work are indispensable to a talent for life."[74] By the mid-1910s, Parsons had appropriated the economic theory of competition developed by Thorstein

Veblen and Ellen Key to help explain the customs and practices that created different work and different social roles for men and women. Increased leisure had "thwarted" women's achievements and made them an unproductive "economic caste," Parsons argued. "Parasitical women," she wrote in 1913, are "our greatest menace."[75]

Fortunately for her, Parsons's scholarly endeavors—the avenue she chose to achieve self-worth and identity—were not thwarted by the prejudices facing women who had to seek the security of academic positions. Parsons was financially and psychologically removed from the material concerns and competitive pressures that her generation, especially her colleagues in anthropology, experienced in vying for academic appointments, promotion, and security.[76] In the pre-World War I years, she applied her university training and personal finances to promoting what she openly described as social propaganda, "program books." Parsons's freelance sociology, which she published until the 1910s, provided her the opportunity, by now less accessible to university academics, to intertwine social science and social criticism. "Propaganda is certainly as justified as ethnology, and perhaps worth infinitely more . . . ," wrote her friend Berkeley anthropologist Alfred Kroeber, who added, "I wish I were one of the fortunate ones endowed with free choice of profession."[77]

Settlement work was an early avenue that Parsons pursued to effect social change, as were her sociological critiques of the strictures of marriage, the family, and religion. By 1910 she had become interested in Franz Boas's study of culture and had turned seriously to anthropology and folklore. She became a noted scholar of black folklore and culture. Parsons's social views and intellectual commitments coincided through her own scholarship and her patronage of Columbia anthropology. For her part, Parsons viewed anthropology as a way to extricate the study of culture from the moral, philosophical realm and to analyze social and cultural power in a systematic, rational, and empirical way. If the ideas themselves were liberating to Parsons, so too was the possibility of crafting the terms of one's engagement with Columbia University and the anthropological profession.

THE PATRON-SCHOLAR: BECOMING PART OF THE INNER CIRCLE

For a university outsider and a woman to achieve such influence in the "inner circle" of a university department and discipline may be attributable to the inchoate nature of anthropological study during the interwar years. However, the well-known tensions between the anthropology department chair Franz Boas, a German-born Jew and pacifist during World War I, and Columbia's autocratic President Nicholas Murray Butler also played a role. Boas's political stance and allegiance to his homeland deeply angered Butler. While Boas weathered the controversies that brought the much publicized departures of professors James McKeen Cattell and Henry Wadsworth Dana, Butler withdrew administrative support and cut funding for the anthropology department. This action was a serious threat to plans to develop anthropology as a university discipline. Boas's efforts to build and sustain a rigorous program of university training and anthropological field work thus, by necessity, relied variously and somewhat tenuously upon the personal generosity of several New York City bankers and philanthropists—Jacob Schiff, Felix Warburg, and Paul Warburg, among them. These men were prominent

figures among New York City's Jewish community and longstanding benefactors of Columbia University. While their support was valued, Boas's connection to Parsons had other dimensions and brought other benefits. Boas recognized Parsons as a Columbia-trained social scientist and ally, with access to finances and social networks. She was a woman of social pedigree and the wife of a prominent Republican reformer. She had ties to Barnard College and was on good terms with Nicholas Murray Butler. But Boas's relationship with Elsie Clews Parsons also differed at another fundamental and crucial level. She became an important figure in departmental life and, moreover, in the intellectual advancement of the discipline. She was Boas's colleague, his confidente, his scholarly executor, and his enabler.

Scholars interested in the history of anthropology and women's history have documented the importance of Parsons's ability to provide funding for travel and publication to young anthropologists at Columbia and at other major centers of research, particularly Chicago, Yale, and Berkeley.[78] She supported men as well as women, but was known as an advocate for women in the discipline, and similarly, her alumnae activities at Barnard proved her a friend to the cause of women's higher education.[79]

Parsons was accepted, in both intellectual and social terms, by the "inner circle" of Columbia anthropology. Her absence during her fieldwork expeditions and other activities was felt. As her friend Alfred Kroeber wrote, "We need you back. The lunches—they come on Tuesdays again—have degenerated into shop gossip and swapping yarns."[80] It was her working relationship with Franz Boas, though, that enabled Parsons, sans an academic appointment, to function as an intellectual and contributing member of the Columbia department. Known as "Papa Franz" to a circle of younger female students at Columbia and Barnard, Boas's relationship with Parsons, a mature, married woman was intellectually open and collegial, rather than paternal. It was a close relationship but one that at some level was mediated by the dynamics between donor and recipient. Generously acknowledging his debt to his benefactor and, hence, cultivating future support, Boas used their conversations to appraise student potential and interest Parsons in research projects. He facilitated her funding of research projects under the auspices of the university's Social Science Research Council and her personal philanthropy, the "Southwest Society."[81] And, as university politics and friction with Butler further marginalized Columbia's anthropology department, Boas increasingly relied on Parsons's financial help to maintain the department secretary's salary (Parsons in fact became known as the department's "angel").[82]

In Boas's eyes, Parsons was a kindred, politically-minded individual. As Deacon notes, Parsons "came to the defense of Franz Boas" when he became embroiled in controversy for challenging the Columbia administration's efforts to document "unpatriot" expressions and behavior by faculty members. In a letter to the *New York Times*, Parsons openly criticized Columbia officials, "That the trustees of a great American university should thus desire to violate the principle of academic freedom is tragic; that they should seek to check in the university the kind of political reference or discussion which may occur in any legislature, in any newspaper, at any public meeting, is grotesque, a bit of almost incredible buffoonery."[83]

Boas, therefore, felt comfortable during his conversations with Parsons airing his concerns about politics threatening academic freedom and, on occasion, asked her to intercede on his behalf in matters outside of the university (for instance, the immigration status of a relative or a violation of intellectual freedom in government scientific institu-

tions).[84] Indeed, the relationship, which overcame the divide of "professional" and "amateur," had mutual benefits, and was more complex than financial support.[85]

Parsons's influential role at the Columbia anthropology department did not stem from the amount of money that Parsons gave, but from the targeted, timely nature of her giving (given the department and discipline's pressing needs) and her intellectual engagement with Franz Boas.[86] Discretionary money enabled her to create her own scholarly career, on her own terms. Beyond that, wealth enabled her, in a time of few teaching positions and limited foundation interest in anthropology, to provide career-enabling opportunities for Columbia's Ruth Benedict, Barnard's Gladys Reichard, the American Museum of Natural History's Margaret Mead, and others among the second generation of Boas's students—including two department secretaries turned anthropologists.[87]

Unlike Dodge who found deep satisfaction and affirmation in a connection with the recipients of her giving, Parsons, as Margaret Mead recalled, remained somewhat distanced from the younger generation of Columbia women, even while financially supporting their work.[88] This may be explained partly by intellectual differences, but also by generational and personality differences. Parsons rejected any notion of "women's culture" or feminist arguments emphasizing women's differences from men. She did not see herself either as a "female iconoclast" or a "lady scientist," nor did she limit her anthropological thinking to women as a social group. In this respect, her orientation was similar to that of many early women social scientists in the new research universities who, as Rosalind Rosenberg's work showed, rejected the "separate but equal" doctrine and distanced themselves from traditionally female activities.[89]

Like Dodge, Parsons built a career that was multi-faceted and involved interactions with both university colleagues and different social groups; her career's many dimensions were fostered by the varied opportunities of the metropolitan life. She stood with one foot in the professional worlds of the Columbia University community and the American Anthropological Association (she was elected its first female president in 1941) and the other foot in the popular world of Manhattan's social and reform clubs. Just as Dodge achieved a sense of identity and continuity through her work at Teachers College and with the YWCA, Parsons comfortably moved from explaining folklore traditions before an American Anthropological Association audience to espousing feminism at a Greenwich Village meeting. But whereas Dodge's philanthropy aimed to forge connections between the organizations and people she valued, Parsons used wealth to move in different spheres while compartmentalizing her various endeavors and preserving the independence she cherished.

Parsons was more an intellectual radical than a grass roots activist. She mixed freely among a circle of New York reformers, journalists, and intellectuals, including many who were privileged by birth and education but felt disaffected from their middle- and upper-middle-class backgrounds. Their careers reflected an eclectic fusion of Greenwich Village bohemianism, feminism, socialism, and twentieth-century progressivism.[90] At Mabel Dodge Luhan's Greenwich Village salon, she engaged in discussion and debate with such vibrant, influential personalities as Margaret Sanger, Randolph Bourne, Max Eastman, and Walter Lippmann. Views were exchanged on American politics and culture, socialism, feminism, birth control, progressive education, and psychoanalysis.[91] As a member of New York City's Heterodoxy, a women's luncheon club for iconoclastic thinkers, Parsons shared her ethnographic insights on social organizations with women.

Her audience included women whose social views might differ but who nonetheless shared her desire for social change: among them, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Fola LaFollette, Henrietta Rodman, and her dearest friend, Barnard alumna Alice Duer Miller. She also attended the Liberal Club and encouraged her friend the journalist Randolph Bourne to join her at New York's Heretics Club, whose members included Alyse Gregory, Henrietta Rodman, Freda Kirchway, and several Columbia affiliates, among them, Pliny Goddard, Alexander Goldenweiser, Leta Hollingworth, Harry Hollingworth, Helen Parkhurst, and William Montague.[92] As Parsons once explained to Bourne, whom she admired as a fellow "renegade Anglo-Saxon," these intellectual gatherings provided an alternative more radical and cross-disciplinary than the university's academic culture.[93] They offered a mixture of academics and radicals, men and women, that was synergistic and potentially enlightening: "I go places where two cultures are gathered together only because of the individuals I may be lucky enough to chance on."[94]

Parsons had the financial, social, and cultural resources needed to circumvent the financial hardships and other uncertainties of scholarly life faced by all academics (particularly radicals and women) during the early twentieth century. Beyond that, Parsons's creative use of her personal wealth enabled her to negotiate on her own terms the boundaries between personal and public life, and to balance her diverse, and at times opposing, responsibilities as propagandist, scholar, daughter, wife, and mother—roles her close friend Alfred Kroeber, in fact, once described as her "several careers."[95]

CONCLUSION

Both Dodge and Parsons had special ties to and, therefore, reasons to support Columbia University, but their stories should not be reduced to instances of rich women—"ladies bountiful"—seeking and gaining prominence and gratitude by responding to fund-raising solicitations or by writing cheques in support of the local institution. Their goals were more transcendent and purposeful, their personal engagement with the recipients of their philanthropy more sustained, and the influence of their decision-making and financial support more widely significant.

Dodge's stewardship of the philanthropic KGA and IEA and her later role in helping to institutionalize the study of pedagogy at Columbia University sheds light on the ways educational philanthropy was often linked to broader currents of reform and the ways the philanthropic relationship established meaningful ties between the university and women as givers. Further, the story of Grace Dodge's involvement in educational reform first outside the university and then as a central figure at Teachers College provides a window for understanding women's contributions to the ad-hoc nature of university building at Columbia. As the story of Teachers College illustrates, Columbia grew and bolstered its standing as a center of advanced study and research by drawing a privately-funded institution into its configuration. This process of changing and redefining the boundaries of the university had ramifications for women. As historian Douglas Sloan showed with respect to science, the "enclosure" of once popular fields of study or private enterprises within the emerging university changed the locus of intellectual life and the dynamics of participation.[96] Although Sloan's analysis did not consider the variable of gender, the model of university building he documented meant that Columbia could enhance its intellectual authority and standing in New York City's intellectual landscape, and not insignificantly its enrollments, while guarding its all-male sta-

tus. It did so by delineating roles for women, by clarifying divisional boundaries, and by keeping the less prestigious service professions and the possibility of feminization at a distance.[97] But even within this context of university building and rising professionalism, philanthropy remained an avenue for women's participation and influence in university affairs, as Dodge's experience as a donor and trustee at Teachers College testifies.

Quite different in her sensibilities and career from Dodge, Parsons fashioned an intellectual role, as an iconoclast and scholar. Confident in her standing as a university-trained social scientist, Parsons used her wealth to build and sustain a career that allowed her to participate in university and professional life, yet enabled her to remain independent, combining on her own terms the roles of scholar, patron, and social critic. The university-generated research to which she contributed financially and intellectually would, she believed, provide the empirical basis to debunk the myths of race and gender. In-depth knowledge of culture would be the fulcrum of social change that would liberate the individual and cast off superstition and archaic custom.

The lives of these two women and the patterns of their career reflect the intricacies of their personalities but also suggest broad generational differences in the goals, underpinnings, and approaches of women's educational philanthropy—from Christian evangelicalism to faith in the expertise of social science—as the Victorian era gave rise to the modern era.[98] Though their preoccupations, sensibilities, social ideals, and perspectives on modernity differed greatly, the purposefulness Dodge and Parsons as philanthropists displayed in negotiating their relationship to the university enterprise was strikingly similar. Both women enjoyed the privileges of race, class, and family background that enabled them to overcome obstacles of gender, even defying conventions for women of their class. Both saw education and philanthropy as dual methods through which they, and indeed other women, might contribute to the university's ideals of service and participate, even as "amateurs," in the world of ideas and learning that was being professionalized and increasingly associated with the male-dominated university's rising intellectual authority.

Beyond suggesting the diversity among women and the varied motivations underlying their philanthropy, the examples of Dodge and Parsons shed further light on women's roles in forging Columbia's ties to the metropolis and reveal how these two women, through their financial support and service, created careers for themselves. These two lives, considered together in relation to Columbia's history, suggest dimensions of women's educational philanthropy that historians have not fully appreciated and explored. In addition to their well-documented roles and contributions to campus life as students, faculty, and administrators, through the vehicle of philanthropy, particularly through the sustained relationships that can be fostered between giver and receiver, these women made a tangible contribution to intellectual and social life on campus. This was accomplished even at elite institutions, even during the tenure of powerful presidents, and even as large foundations devoted to scientific philanthropy and to supporting the "best men" began to hold sway, militating against women's participation.[99]

The pivotal connections that Grace Dodge and Elsie Clews Parsons had to Columbia's academic community offer a valuable perspective on the boundaries between the academy and society. Moreover, they point to contributions that are eclipsed by the facile distinctions historians often draw between "amateurs" on the outside of the university and the inner circle of university "professionals." Not to consider Elsie Clews

Parsons as part of Columbia's anthropological community—as a veritable contributor to department life—would be myopic and inaccurate.

The study of philanthropy and higher education thus opens up some methodological questions about ways to further our understanding of the development of universities. Shifting the lens away from the focus of the academic department or the role of the president toward the formative and influential ties of benefaction and trusteeship—for example, relationships that connect individuals, ideas, and intellectual communities across institutional boundaries—will further understanding of the place of the academy and its reach in the entire intellectual landscape. The philanthropic lens might help us further situate the study of higher education within the broader culture, as Curti had hoped.

Even a cursory look at other institutions suggests that the case of Columbia was not an isolated instance of this type of philanthropic activity for women. Women contributed to developments at some of the country's most prestigious universities. Sara Yorke Stevenson, a member of the Philadelphia Civic Club-cum-museum curator, was instrumental in securing the funding for the University of Pennsylvania Museum's archaeological expedition to Nippur, from 1889 to 1900.[100] Helen Culver, Ethel Sturges Dummer, and Anita Blaine McCormick were important patrons of education and social science research in Chicago.[101] Mary Copley Shaw supported Alice Fletcher's anthropological research at Harvard.[102] Phoebe Hearst, through her wealth and service as the first female Regent of the University of California, promoted anthropological work at Berkeley and tried to improve the status of women students and scholars on campus.[103]

The list could go on, but would only underscore the salience of this phenomenon. The levels at which philanthropic women interacted with their university recipients no doubt varied. Moreover, studies are needed to ascertain whether the phenomenon is particular to a certain time period, to particular types of institutions and disciplines, to stages of development, or to metropolitan settings. In the case of Columbia, we find that women like Dodge and Parsons were able to capitalize on their personal resources and those of the city to traverse the university's boundaries, and that the city in a real sense expanded the gates of the university. As journalist Edwin Slosson observed in 1910, "Columbia University is willing to lose somewhat of its identity and distinctiveness through merging itself with the city in order that it may most fully share its life." Simply put, from Slosson's vantage point, one could no more trace the boundaries of Columbia than define the "limits of the metropolis itself."[104]

This study shows that no single motivation underlies women's actions. Nor is there a distinctly "feminine" approach that is restricted to women's philanthropy. To write a comprehensive history of women's philanthropy in higher education, one would have to consider the range of institutions in the landscape of higher learning and fully address the differences among women—such as race, class, ethnicity, religion, and region.[105] Such a history would deepen understanding of the intellectual and social connections linking education, philanthropy, and culture—a theme that Curti outlined over forty years ago. One could imagine that the systematic study of philanthropy might provide a new framework for considering women's contributions, not only to the research university but to a variety of educational institutions. Or, further study might inform revisionist considerations in both the history of philanthropy and the history of higher education, eventually pointing to a new periodization in these fields. Encouraging such study is consonant with the revisionist goals of writing histories of higher education that are more attentive to context and that integrate the experience of women.[106] And, finally,

studies in the history and dimensions of women's educational philanthropy would provide boards of trustees and fund raisers, as well as students and researchers in higher education, with a usable history. Such study would consider not only the role of foundations, the annual gains in campus coffers or the Andrew Carnegies who have shaped institutions of higher education, but would consider the range of individual philanthropists—among them, prominent women like Dodge and Parsons as well as lesser known figures—who gave and served and, consequently, played a role in campus and intellectual life and in creating ties between the university and its environs.

NOTES

[1] I have drawn these characterizations in broad terms for the purposes of illustrating what I consider to be the major orientation of studies in each field. There are, of course, historical studies and historians that challenge these boundaries and blur these distinctions—and, as my title suggests, it is such an approach that I have in mind in undertaking the study of women's educational philanthropy and the university.

[2] Literally the "love of mankind," the definition of "philanthropy" is historically-specific and has changed over time. Kathleen D. McCarthy notes that "from the seventeenth century until the last third of the nineteenth century, 'philanthropy,' encompassed both giving and voluntarism, with an emphasis on social reform." Kathleen D. McCarthy, ed., *Women and Philanthropy in the United States, 1790–1990* (New York: Center for the Study of Philanthropy, Curriculum Guide, #1, spring 1998), 2. Contemporary scholars writing from a variety of perspectives have conceptualized philanthropy to include time, service, and voluntary association. In terms of education, for instance, one can study the philanthropic contributions of donors, patrons, and trustees. See Robert L. Payton, *Philanthropy: Four Views* (New Brunswick: Transaction, 1988); Brian O'Connell, ed., *America's Voluntary Spirit: A Book of Readings* (New York: Foundation Center, 1983). My working definition—giving and serving in the public interest—embraces both financial giving and giving of one's time through service and association is more useful for considering the variety of women's contributions.

[3] The need for biographical studies of philanthropy in order to explore the role of the family and religion is explored in Andrea Walton, "With Strength to Reason and Warmth to Feel: Clementine Miller Tangeman (1905–1996), Philanthropist and Educator," Working Paper No. 1 (The Center for the Study of American Culture and Education, New York University School of Education, 1998).

[4] For a discussion of philanthropy in relational terms, see Susan Ostrander and Paul G. Schervish, "Giving and Getting: Philanthropy as a Social Relation," in *Critical Issues in American Philanthropy: Strengthening Theory and Practice*, Jon Van Til and Associates (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1990), 67–98. For educational aspects of philanthropy, see Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, *Jane Addams on Education* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1985), Introduction.

In a 1999 essay, Ellen Condliffe Lagemann observed that new theoretical frameworks in the social sciences, particularly the rise of the "new institutionalism"—which moves beyond depicting institutions as either "passive" or totally rational and efficient entities—have generated and facilitated research interest in the history of foundations, the disciplines, and the professions, particularly science and medicine. See Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, *Foundations in History: New Possibilities for Scholarship and Practice*, "Introduction" (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), ix–xviii. See also Walter W. Powell and Paul J. DiMaggio, *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991). See Barry D. Karl, "Philanthropy and the Maintenance of Democratic Elites," *Minerva* 35 (fall 1997): 207–20 and Lily E. Kay, "Rethinking Institutions: Philanthropy as an Historiographic Problem of Knowledge and Power," *Minerva* 35 (fall 1997): 283–93.

[5] The systematic study of women's educational philanthropy, particularly in the higher education arena, might complement and inform our studies of women students, faculty, and administrators or the leadership of women in the social settlements and support of the arts. See Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Culture and the City: Cultural Philanthropy in Chicago from the 1880s to 1917* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1976); Mina Carson, *Settlement Folks: Social Thought in the American Settlement Movement: 1885–1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990); Kathleen D. McCarthy, *Women's Culture: American Philanthropy and Art, 1830–1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

[6] Merle Curti, "The History of American Philanthropy as a Field of Research," *American Historical Review* 62 (January 1957): 352.

[7] Allen F. Davis, "Memorial to Merle E. Curti," *American Studies Association Newsletter* 19 (June 1996), 15.

[8] Curti's focus on philanthropy came about largely because of his prominent involvement in a 1956 conference, which F. Emerson Andrews orchestrated with funding from the Russell Sage and Ford foundations. Popular criticisms and Congressional hearings on foundation activities in the 1950s sparked interest among foundation heads to support scholarship documenting philanthropic activities, motivations, and outcomes. The Merle Curti Papers at the Wisconsin Historical Society contain information on the Princeton conference and foundation efforts to stimulate historical assessment of philanthropic initiatives. See Margaret W. Otto, *Report of the Princeton Conference on the History of Philanthropy in the United States* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1956); Merle Curti and Roderick Nash, *Philanthropy in the Shaping of Higher Education* (New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1965); and Merle Curti, "The History of American Philanthropy as a Field of Research," *American Historical Review* 62 (January 1957): 352–63.

[9] See note 7.

[10] See Otto, *Report of the Princeton Conference*, passim; and Davis, "Memorial to Merle E. Curti," 15. The Wisconsin Project, started in 1958, influenced the careers of a number of scholars of educational history. David Allmendinger and Paul Mattingly, for instance, are recognized for their contributions as research assistants and critics in the preface to *Philanthropy and the Shaping of American Higher Education*, vi. Peter Dobkin Hall provides details of the network scholars who studied with or were influenced by Curti. See Peter Dobkin Hall, "The Work of Many Hands: A Response to Stanley N. Katz on the Origins of the 'Serious Study' of Philanthropy," *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 28 (December 1999): 522–36, esp. 524.

[11] The Curti-Nash text in many respects remains the most useful full-length overview of the philanthropic matrix that guided the rise of colleges and universities—a topic that had been neglected since earlier works by Jesse Sears and Ernest Hollis. See Jesse Brundage Sears, *Philanthropy in the History of American Higher Education*; with a new introduction by Roger Geiger (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishing, 1990; c1919). Sears, who studied with Paul Monroe at Teachers College, Columbia University, also wrote the entry on "philanthropy" in the *Cyclopedia of Education* (1913). Sears's dissertation was notable for its use of quantitative analysis and its consideration of women. By contrast, Ernest Victor Hollis's 365-page study indexes only two references to women. See Ernest Victor Hollis, *Philanthropic Foundations and Higher Education* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), 86, 153.

[12] A recent forum on possibilities for revisionism in the history of higher education notes these standard categories of analysis. See, for example, Linda Eisenmann, Philo A. Hutcheson, and Jana Nidiffer, "A Conversation: Historiographic Issues in American Higher Education," *History of Education Quarterly* 39 (fall 1999): 291–336.

[13] See also Jesse Brundage Sears, *Philanthropy*, passim.

[14] This inclusiveness was evident earlier in Curti's work. See also Merle Curti, *The Social Ideas of Educators* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1935), which includes material relevant to the education of women and African Americans.

[15] See note 11, as well as Eisenmann, "Reconsidering a Classic," 689–717.

[16] That Curti's work has received uneven attention from scholars writing about institutions of higher education is, I believe, a function of the field's traditional emphasis on public, government funding. For the dynamics of the field, see Stanley N. Katz, "Where Did the Serious Study of Philanthropy Come From, Anyway?" *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 28 (March 1999): 74–82; and Hall, "The Work of Many Hands."

[17] The work of a few scholars influenced by Curti's work did address women. See, for example, Keith E. Melder, "Ladies Bountiful: Organized Women's Benevolence in Early Nineteenth-Century America," *New York History* 48 (July 1967): 231–54. The two most important books in opening up the study of women's philanthropy have been Kathleen D. McCarthy, ed., *Lady Bountiful Revisited: Women, Philanthropy and Power* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1990) and Anne Firor Scott, *Natural Allies: Women's Associations in American History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991). See particularly McCarthy's introduction; Kathryn Kish Skar, "Who Funded Hull House," 94–115; and Darlene Clark Hine, "'We Specialize in the Wholly Impossible,' The Philanthropic Work of Black Women," 70–93, in *Lady Bountiful Revisited*, ed. McCarthy. See also Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Florence Kelley and the Nation's Work* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995); Margaret W. Rossiter, *Women Scientists in America: Struggle and Strategies to 1940* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1982); and Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, ed., *Jane Addams On Education* (Piscataway: Transaction Press, 1994; c1985).

[18] See McCarthy, *Lady Bountiful*, "Introduction"; and also idem, "The History of Women in Nonprofits," in *Women and Power in the Nonprofit Sector*, eds. Teresa Odendahl and Michael O'Neill (San Franscisco: Jossey-Bass, 2000), 23–24.

[19] McCarthy, "The History of Women in Nonprofits," 23–24.

[20] The study of women's educational philanthropy, particularly in the higher education arena, might complement and inform our studies of women students, faculty, and administrators, or the leadership of women in the social settlements and support of the arts. See Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Culture and the City: Cultural Philanthropy in Chicago from the 1880s to 1917* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1976); Mina Carson, *Settlement Folks: Social Thought in the American Settlement Movement: 1885–1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990); Kathleen D. McCarthy, *Women's Culture: American Philanthropy and Art, 1830–1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1991).

[21] Closer examination of women's philanthropic involvement with educational institutions might uncover more examples of women's agency and influence through giving and serving. For instance, in her 1994 essay, McCarthy writes, "crusades that succeeded by dint of numbers often proved impotent in changing the policies of the kinds of heavily endowed 'legitimating institutions' created by such wealthy male patrons as John D. Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie. . . . Women played a limited role in these legitimating institutions, often handling over significant donations to the stewardship of male trustees." McCarthy, "The History of Women in Nonprofits," 23–24.

[22] See note 2.

[23] See Joyce Antler and Sari Knopp Biklen, eds., *Changing Education: Women as Radicals and Conservators* (Albany: State University Press, 1990). Florence Howe illustrated this point by quoting sociologist David Riesman's introduction to Jessie Bernard's *Academic Women* in 1964: "Women," he says, "prefer to be teachers, passing on a received heritage and responsively concerning themselves with their students while men of equivalent or even lesser ability prefer to be men-of-knowledge, breaking the accustomed mold and remaining responsive not to students but to the structure of the disciplines and their colleagues in the invisible university." Florence Howe, "Feminism and

the Education of Women," in *Myths of Coeducation: Selected Essays 1964–1983* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 184.

[24] My account of Dodge's early days draws from a biographical chapter in Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, *A Generation of Women* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979), 9–31; see Esther Katz, "Grace Hoadley Dodge: Women the Emerging Metropolis, 1856–1914" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1981); Abbie Graham, *Grace H. Dodge: Merchant of Dreams* (New York: The Woman's Press, 1926); s.v. "Dodge, Grace Hoadley," in *Notable American Women, 1607–1950*, ed. Edward T. James (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1971), hereafter cited as *NAW*; and Lucetta Daniel, "Impressions of Miss Dodge," *Association Monthly* 9 (March 1915): 9. A useful discussion of the broader context for philanthropic efforts such as Dodge's is Jane Allen Shikoh, "The 'higher life' in the American City of the 1890's: A Study of Its Leaders and Their Activities in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Boston, and Buffalo" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1973). Esther Katz's study provides a good account of Dodge's financial support and fundraising efforts. According to Katz, in the period from 1892 to 1897 donations and gifts to TC, thanks largely to Dodge's skilled fund raising as a trustee, reached one and quarter million dollars. Annual deficits, which Katz estimates at $60,000 to $100,00 per year, were cleared by Dodge's fund raising or personal generosity. See Katz, "Grace Hoadley Dodge," 152–55. Abbie Graham offers additional information on Dodge's fund raising. In 1892 Dodge raised $55,000; in 1893 she helped secure Mrs. Macy's gift of $225,000 for the Mechanical Arts Building and an additional $55,000; and between March and July of 1894, she raised $100,000 for a college building. See Graham, *Grace H. Dodge*, 179. Dodge herself gave nearly half a million dollars in 1915 to build the College's Household Arts Building.

[25] Graham, *Grace H. Dodge*, 57.

[26] Lori Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality and Politics in Nineteenth-Century United States* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990); Anne Boylan, "Timid Girls, Venerable Widows and Dignified Matrons: Life Cycle Patterns Among Organized Women in New York and Boston, 1797–1840," *American Quarterly* 38 (winter 1986): 779–97.

[27] Her great-grandfather, David Low Dodge, was the son of a noted leader of the YMCA and himself a founder of the New York Peace Society. Her grandfather, William E. Dodge, made his wealth in mining (Phelps, Dodge & Co.) and contributed financially to civic causes. Her father, William Dodge, Jr., was a highly-regarded benefactor and trustee of a number of New York's charitable and educational institutions. He had been a supporter of Columbia's Earl Hall, a student activities center devoted to religious activities. Her mother, though limited by poor health, supported a number of philanthropic causes, including the visiting committee of the State Charities Aid Association to New York's Bellevue Hospital. Dodge's cousins Olivia Egleston Phelps and Caroline Phelps-Stokes were active supporters of social reform and benefactors of a number of educational institutions, including Columbia University. The sisters funded the building of St. Paul's Chapel in the early 1900s. *NAW*, s.v. "Dodge," Grace; Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence*, 199–200.

[28] Jane Addams, "The College Woman and the Family Claim," in *Jane Addams on Education*, ed. Ellen Condliffe Lagemann (New York: Teachers College Press, 1985), 64–73.

[29] An analysis of the motivations and class politics of initiatives in vocationally-oriented working girls' education merits greater attention than can be offered here. Dodge was active in social hygiene. See, for example, James Bronson Reynolds, "Miss Dodge's Contribution to the Moral Protection of Women," *Association Monthly* 9 (March 1915): 82–90.

[30] Dodge's writings to working girls' clubs are still available. See Grace Hoadley Dodge, *A Bundle of Letters To Busy Girls on Practical Matters* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1887).

[31] *NAW*, s.v. "Dodge," 490. Grace Hoadley Dodge, "Preface," in *Wage-Earning Women*, Annie Marion MacLean (New York: McMillan, 1910), vi

[32] *NAW*, s.v. "Dodge," 490. See also Mabel Cratty, "The Fine Profession of Being a Laywoman," *Association Monthly* 9 (March 1915): 171

[33] Like other affiliates, Teachers College entered into a series of agreements that clarified and amended its relationship to Columbia. A second agreement of affiliation was signed in 1898. Teachers College maintained its financial and legal independence.

[34] *NAW*, s.v. "Dodge"; MacLean, *Wage-Earning Women*, vi; Dodge, *A Bundle of Letters*.

[35] As Esther Katz noted, in 1886 the IEA was instructing 1,904 students. Only one year later, its roster had grown to 4,383. The IEA aligned itself with civic leaders. Katz lists IEA's honorary members as including: William E. Dodge, Jr., Charles Loring Brace, Frederick A. P. Barnard, General John Eaton (Commissioner of Education), Abraham Hewitt, Seth Low, and the Reverend Henry C. Potter. See Katz, "Grace Hoadley Dodge," 123, 121.

[36] Dodge in fact raised the $10,000 that helped pay for Butler's salary from George Vanderbilt. See Katz, "Grace Hoadley Dodge," 141–42. Butler was a loyal Columbia alumnus. He earned his A.B. in 1882, his A.M. in 1883, and his Ph.D. in 1884.

[37] Teachers College's first agreement of affiliation came in 1893. An 1898 agreement brought the College into the university more fully. A dean would now head Teachers College and represent TC on Columbia's University Council.

[38] See Nicholas Murray Butler, *Across the Busy Years: Recollections and Reflections*, vol. I (New York: Charles Scribner's Son, 1935), 72–75. Butler's account emphasizes Barnard and his realization that "it would probably be easier to build up a teachers' college outside the University, and to bring it later into organic relations with the University, than to undertake its establishment under the control and at the expense of the Trustees." See Nicholas Murray Butler, "The Beginnings of Teachers College," *Columbia University Quarterly* I (September 1899): 344. See also, Katz, "Grace Dodge," 143.

[39] Nicolas Murray Butler to Seth Low, 11 April 1894, Central Files Collection, Columbia University.

[40] Roger L. Geiger identified Columbia's unusual configuration in comparison to other research universities: "Columbia University almost defies characterization. . . . Columbia tried to be all things to all people and somehow managed to bring it off. This was largely accomplished through compartmentalization. Columbia went about its many tasks, and related to its numerous constituencies, through separate units that were either completely self-contained (Barnard and Teachers College) or nearly so." "After the Emergence: Voluntary Support and the Building of American Research Universities," *History of Education Quarterly* 25 (fall 1985): 379. For a discussion of resistance to the study of education in universities, see Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, *An Elusive Science: The Troubling History of Education Research* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 16.

[41] See Katz, "Grace Hoadley Dodge," 161.

[42] Butler writes of the philanthropists, "[they] were strangers to the educational ideas involved in the new departure. Gradually, however, the force of the argument which was constantly kept before them was sufficient to overcome prejudices that were the natural outgrowth of the habit of viewing the introduction of manual training in the light of philanthropy, rather than in the light of education, and the problem was solved." See Nicholas Murray Butler, "The Beginnings of Teachers College," 345–46. In his autobiography, Butler noted the problems that arose from the concerns of the philanthropists "who feared that the philanthropy for which they cared so much would be overshadowed by academic interests and ideals." See Nicholas Murray Butler, *Across the Busy Years*, 181. For a sense of how philanthropic women like Dodge might have viewed the unity of education and philanthropy, refer to Frances Goodale's report on women's philanthropic activities for the 1893 Chicago Exposition: "Philanthropy cannot be divorced from Education nor from Religion. The three are one." Frances Abigail Rockefeller Goodale, *Literature of Philanthropy* (New York: Harpers, 1893), 2.

[43] James Earl Russell, "Miss Dodge and Teachers College," *Association Monthly* 9 (March 1915): 68.

[44] Grace Hoadley Dodge (GHD) to James Earl Russell (JER), 9 July 1899, 99B, Box 7, James Earl Russell Papers, Special Collections, Teachers College, Columbia University; hereafter cited as JER.

[45] See Lawrence A. Cremin, David A. Shannon and Mary Evelyn Townsend, *A History of Teachers College, Columbia University* (New York: Columbia University, 1954); Lagemann, *A Generation of Women*, 26–27; Katz, "Grace Hoadley Dodge," 144, 181; and Bette Weneck, "The Average Teacher Need Not Apply: Women Educators at Teachers College, 1887–1927" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1996). Though his work does not address women's educational philanthropy, Thomas Bender's study of New York City offers a good discussion of the tensions between civic and academic culture that relates here, and more important, Bender offers another instance of Butler's self-aggrandizing view of his role in Columbia's history. Butler accorded very little credit to his predecessor, Seth Low. See Thomas Bender, *New York Intellect: A History of Intellectual Life in New York City, from 1750 to the Beginnings of Our Own Time* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 279.

[46] When TC affiliated with Columbia in 1893, it achieved a distinctive place among institutions in New York City that educated women-namely, Hunter, the public female normal school (a counterpart to City College), New York University's School of Pedagogy, and the newly opened Barnard College. Teachers College might collaborate with Barnard, also a Columbia affiliate, and might compete successfully with NYU, but in Dodge's view, Hunter lacked the resources needed to make the transition to collegiate standards. Dodge's stance, shared by her co-commissioner of education, Mary Nash Agnew, drew controversy. As Katherine Grunfeld notes in her study of Hunter College, Dodge and Agnew, both having well-known Columbia affiliations, were criticized by city teachers. They were accused of class politics and for being guided by their loyalty to elite institutions over public interest, for lobbying at the state capital against awarding Normal collegiate status. See Katherina Kroo Grunfeld, "Purpose and Ambiguity: The Feminine World of Hunter College" (Ed.D. diss., Teachers College, Columbia University, 1991), 68–69.

[47] Because there was no dean of women, Dean Russell relied on Dodge to ascertain the needs of women students. See JER to GHD, 24 December 1898, Box 6, 97A, JER.

[48] Grace Hoadley Dodge, Comments at Opening Ceremony of Teachers College, n.d. (likely about 1895), Record Book, Teachers College Special Collections; Katz, "Grace Hoadley Dodge," 154. There has been little historical study of the role of trustees, particularly female trustees. See Mariam K Chamberlain, "Women as Trustees," in *Women in Academe: Progress and Prospects* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1988), 333–56.

[49] Merle Curti and Roderick Nash note Grace Dodge's ability to successfully raise funds from these families. See Curti and Nash, *Philanthropy and the Shaping*, 142. Among those whose interests Dodge helped to assure were Caroline Choate (Mrs. Joseph Choate), Mrs. Josiah Macy, and Mrs. Peter Bryson. For a discussion of the local nature of philanthropy that provided important support to urban universities, and Columbia's reliance on the great families of New York City, see Roger Geiger, *To Advance Knowledge: The Growth of American Research Universities, 1900–1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 47–53.

[50] "Tribute to Grace Hoadley Dodge," *Teachers College Record* 15 (January 1915): 72.

[51] GHD to JER, 20 November 1908, Box 7, 106B, JER.

[52] JER to GHD, 24 December 1898, Box 6, 97A, JER. Grace Dodge also worked closely with three other women who had sustained ties to Teachers College—Mrs. Peter Bryson, who founded the library, and Mrs. Josiah Macy and Edith Macy (wife of V. Everit Macy), both of whom contributed to campus building.

[53] GDH to JER, 16 December 1906, Box 7, 106A; GDH to JER, 19 December 1907, Box 7, 106A, JER.

[54] Raymond C. Knox, "Miss Dodge and Religious Education," *Association Monthly* 9 (March 1915): 70–71.

[55] GHD to JER, 21 December 1907, Box 7, 106A, JER.

[56] GHD to JER, 11 January 1910, Box 6, 97A, JER. The scholarship on professionalization and professionalism is extensive and varied. The most crucial elements determining professional status are related to having formal, expert knowledge related to certain sets of problems. This knowledge is certified by training, credentials, and membership in a community that is guided by its self-regulating ethics and standards. See, for example, Eliot Friedson, *Professional Powers: A Study of the Institutionalization of Formal Knowledge* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986). According to Andrew Abbott, the process of professionalization involves competition and jostling between groups, i.e., professions, for jurisdiction over a particular field. See Andrew Abbott, *The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988). In terms of the disciplines, the importance of the university as the site of training, intellectual community, and employment has been paramount. The study of education being institutionalized in new professional schools of education like Teachers College was guided by psychology rather than the social values and philosophy that Dodge and her KGA colleagues embraced. Within this framework, Grace Dodge, though an educator, was not an "expert." She was an "amateur." Relating these terms to Parsons is a bit more difficult, which is, in fact, my point. Like Dodge, Parsons was written out of Columbia's history until interest in women's history developed. Through her philanthropy (e.g., funding fieldwork, supporting the publications of the American Folklore Society) Parsons created her own career, forged ties to the university, and helped to professionalize anthropology. For a discussion of anthropology's move from being an avocation of travelers and a museum study to a university study, see George Stocking, *Race, Culture, and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology* (New York: Macmillan Free Press, 1968). Parsons had a Ph.D., a professional credential, but no professional position. Like Dodge, she stands less prominent in history written by "insiders."

[57] See "Dodge, Grace," in *NAW*, 491. For a discussion of the tensions between Susan Blow, a Froebelian, and Patty Smith Hill, an advocate of psychological approaches to early childhood education and Hill's displacement of the Froebelian influence at Teachers College, see also Barbara Beatty, *Preschool Education in America: The Culture of Young Children from the Colonial Era to the Present* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 116–18.

[58] JER to GHD, 18 October 1900, Box 6, 97A, JER; quote in Katz, "Grace Hoadley Dodge," 164.

[59] A.L. Kroeber, "Elsie Clews Parsons," *American Anthropologist* 45 (April-June 1943): 252; Rosemary Zumwalt, *Wealth and Rebellion: Elsie Clews Parsons, Anthropologist and Folklorist* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1992); Desley Deacon, *Elsie Clews Parsons: Inventing Modern Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

[60] After receiving her master's degree in 1897, Parsons taught at the Horace Mann School, Teachers College's model school.

[61] The contributions that Parsons made to Columbia and to anthropological associations over the years were sizable. For example, from 1916 to 1941, Parsons contributed over $30,000 to the American Folklore Society. Information on the variety of publications and ventures that Parsons funded is found in Zumwalt, *Wealth and Rebellion*, 313–26. Parsons often gave her funding through a vehicle such as Columbia's Social Science Research Council or the Southwest Society. See Deacon, *Elsie Clews Parsons*, 244, 452n5.

[62] Elsie Worthington Clews married Herbert Parsons in September 1900 and retained her maiden name as her middle name. For clarity's sake, I refer to her as Parsons through this discussion. Henry Clews was adamant in his belief in women's proper sphere and spoke publically in opposition to suffrage. See Zumwalt, *Wealth and Rebellion*, 36.

[63] Desley Deacon, *Elsie Clews Parsons: Inventing Modern Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 19.

[64] Parsons described her childhood and her goal for achieving a "personal morality" that would "triumph over status morality" in an unpublished manuscript, "Journal of a Feminist" (circa 1913–1914), 13, Parsons Papers.

[65] Zumwalt, *Wealth and Rebellion*, 32-54.

[66] Deacon, *Elsie Clews Parsons*, 31.

[67] Kroeber, "Elsie Clews Parsons," 252.

[68] According to Rosalind Rosenberg, Giddings courses attracted women interested in philanthropy. His theory of "consciousness of kind" described "a state of conciousness in which any being, whether low or high in the scale of life, recognizes another conscious being as like kind with itself." This theory provided a framework for fostering civic connectedness and both individual and social transformation. See Rosalind Rosenberg, *Beyond Separate Spheres: Intellectual Roots of Modern Feminism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 151–52.

[69] See Ellen Fitzpatrick, *Endless Crusade: Women Social Scientists and Progressive Reforms: The Social Settlements and Progressive Reforms* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); Allen F. Davis, *Spearheads for Reform: The Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1984).

[70] Quoted in Hare, 37. A copy of Elsie Clews's master's thesis is in Box 3, Franklin Giddings Papers, Rare Book and Manuscripts Collection, Columbia University, New York City.

[71] Elsie Clews Parsons, "Divisions of Labor in the Tenement House," *Charities and the Commons* 15 (December 1905): 443–44; idem, "The School Child, the School Nurse, and the Local School Board," *Charities and the Commons* 14 (1905): 1102; idem, "Penalizing Marriage and Childbearing," *Independent* 60 (January 1906): 146–47.

[72] Margaret Olivia Sage, "Opportunities and Responsibilities of Leisured Women," *North American Review* 181 (November 1905): 712–21.

[73] Ibid. See also Parsons's comment regarding reactions to her plans in *Charities and the Commons* 16 (March 1906): 1080–81. In 1907 Sage founded the Russell Sage Foundation, which funded developments in social work. Ruth Crocker, "The History of Philanthropy as Life-History: A Biographer's View of Mrs. Russell Sage," in *Philanthropic Foundations: New Scholarship, New Possibilities*, ed. Ellen Condliffe Lagemann (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 318–28.

[74] Elsie Clews Parsons, "A Plan for Girls With Nothing to Do," *Charities and the Commons* 14 (May 1905): 3–7; idem, "Girls with Nothing to Do," *Charities and the Commons* 15 (October 1905): 124; and "Aim of Productive Efficiency," 503.

[75] Elsie Clews Parsons, *Old-Fashioned Woman: Primitive Fancies About the Sex* (New York: Putnam, 1913), 6.

[76] E.g., her Columbia classmate Alfred Kroeber.

[77] Alfred Kroeber to Elsie Clews Parsons, 5 May 1916, Parsons Papers. See also Elsie Clews Parsons, "American 'Society' I," *New Republic* 16 (December 1916): 184.

[78] See Zumwalt, *Wealth and Rebellion*; Deacon, *Elsie Clews Parsons*, Peter H. Hare, *A Woman's Quest for Science: Portrait of Anthropologist Elsie Clews Parsons* (Buffalo: Prometheus Books, 1985).

[79] Parsons, for example, provided some funding to support Melville Herskovits's research in Africa. Parsons served as an alumnae trustee at Barnard. She took an active interest in naming the new

dean after Laura Gill's forced resignation in 1906 (Parsons nominated Alice Miller, Mary Simikhovich and Emily James Putnam—all three were married women) and in 1915 was the head of the trustee committee launching the Million Dollar Campaign to commemorate Barnard's Silver Anniversary.

[80] Quoted in Deacon, *Elsie Clews Parsons*, 201–02.

[81] Esther S. Goldfrank, *Notes on an Undirected Life: As One Anthropologist Sees It* (New York: Queens College Press, 1978), 21–35. Franz Boas to Elsie Clews Parsons, 12 June 1924; 28 September 1932; 2 April 1936, all in Parsons Papers.

[82] Goldfrank, *Notes on an Undirected Life*, 21–35. Zumwalt notes that Parsons "felt the economic necessity to reduce the amount of her support for anthropological work in 1932 and 1933." This included "cutting her annual contribution to his secretarial fund to $1500." Zumwalt, *Wealth and Rebellion*, 316.

[83] Quoted in Deacon, *Elsie Clews Parsons*, 179.

[84] As Desley Deacon noted in her biography of Parsons, Parsons once asserted to Helen Gurley Flynn that she had personal income of only $2500 a year, "an allowance from my father." Parsons underscored the point, by adding, "To many of my acquaintances my circumstances are misleading." Whether the comment was meant to deflect a request for financial assistance or was an accurate picture of Parsons's personal finances is difficult to assess. See Desley Deacon, *Elsie Clews Parsons: Inventing Modern Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 198.

[85] See note 55.

[86] Goldfrank, *Notes*, 5.

[87] Ibid.

[88] Margaret Mead, *An Anthropologist at Work* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1959), 318.

[89] Ruth Bunzel and Margaret Mead, eds., *The Golden Age of Anthropology* (New York: George Braziller, 1960), 5; see also Rosalind Rosenberg, *Beyond Separate Spheres*, passim.

[90] Rosalind Rosenberg, "The Academic Prism: The New View of American Women," in *Women of America*, ed. Carol Berkin (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1979), 319.

[91] Parsons served as president of the American Folklore Society from 1918 to 1920, the American Ethnological Association from 1923 to 1925, and the American Anthropological Society from 1940 to 1941.

[92] "Heretics" list, Parsons Papers.

[93] Parsons was particularly close to Bourne. She uses the phrase in an undated letter to Bourne, in Parsons-Bourne Papers, Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Room; see also Eric Sandeen, "Born Again: The Correspondence Between Randolph Bourne and Elsie Clews Parsons," *American Literary History* 1 (fall 1989): 489–509.

[94] There has been much writing about New York City's rebels, Robert E. Humphrey, *Children of Fantasy: The First Rebels of Greenwich Village* (New York: Wiley, 1978); Judith Schartz, *The Radical Feminist of Heterodoxy: Greenwich Village, 1912–1940* (Norwich, Vt.: New Victoria Publishers, 1986).

[95] Kroeber to Parsons, n.d., Parsons Papers.

[96] My thinking about universities and their boundaries and ties to civic life has been influenced by Douglas Sloan, "Science in New York City, 1867–1907," *ISIS* 71 (March 1980): 35–76. For use

of the concept of "enclosure," see, for example, Robert A. McCaughey, *International Studies and Academic Enterprise: A Chapter in the Enclosure in American Learning* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984).

[97] Examples of this strategy are found in the history of Columbia's affiliation with Teachers College and Barnard College and the disbanding of its School of Library Service at the turn of the century and even Columbia's connection to the New York School of Civics and Philanthropy (later known as the School of Social Work).

[98] Revision of the major themes and periodization to guide the historical study of philanthropy is underway. The standard account, which describes a shift from the personal, religiously-based notions of charity to modern foundation philanthropy is Robert Bremner, *American Philanthropy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960).

[99] Women's patronage merits further investigation. See "The Most Available and Suitable Man: Columbia's Miller Chair and Salo Baron," in *Jewish Learning in the American University: The First Century*, Paul Ritterband and Harold S. Wechsler (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 150–81. Linda Eisenmann notes that Florence Anderson, Secretary of the Carnegie Corporation, was instrumental in women's programming, but her role and this area of the foundation's funding has not been addressed in its scholarly history, Ellen Condliffe Lagemann's *The Politics of Knowledge*. See Linda Eisenmann, "Befuddling the 'Feminine Mystique': Academic Women and the Creation of the Radcliffe Institute, 1950–1965," *Educational Foundations* 10 (summer 1996): 5–26; particularly note 29.

[100] Nippur is in modern day Iraq. In 1894 Stevenson was recognized as the first woman to receive a honorary doctorate from the University of Pennsylvania, Martin Meyerson, *And Gladly Teach: Franklin and His Heirs at the University of Pennsylvania, 1740–1976* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978), 117–21.

[101] For Helen Culver, see Rudolf K. Haerle, Jr., "William Isaac Thomas and the Helen Culver Fund for Race Psychology: The Beginnings of Scientific Sociology at the University of Chicago, 1910–1913," *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 27 (January 1991): 21–41. For Ethel Sturges Dummer, see Flora Lazar, "From Social Science to Psychosomatic Research: The Failure of An Alliance, 1908–1935" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1994). For Anita Blaine McCormack, see Kathleen D. McCarthy, *Noblesse Oblige: Charity and Cultural Philanthropy in Chicago, 1849–1929* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 56–60.

[102] Christine Moon Van Ness, "Sara Yorke Stevenson," in *Women Anthropologists: A Biographical Dictionary*, eds. Ute Gacs et al. (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), 344–49.

[103] Lynn D. Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era*, 56–60.

[104] Edwin E. Slosson, *Great American Universities* (New York: Arno, 1977, c1910), 446–47.

[105] Writings in the history of women's philanthropy have been invigorated and advanced from its initial middle-class preoccupations by theoretical debates centered on diversity. The best overview of the recent literature is a 1994 review by Kathleen D. McCarthy. She notes that works by Nancy Hewitt, Suzanne Lebsock, and others have challenged earlier collectivist interpretations of "sisterhood" and encouraged greater recognition of possible "fissures" in the aims and impact of women's contributions in the voluntary sphere. See Kathleen D. McCarthy, "The History of Women in the Nonprofit Sector: Changing Interpretations," in *Women and Power in the Nonprofit Sector*, eds. Teresa Odendahl and Michael O'Neill (San Francisco: Jossey Bass, 1994), 17–38.

[106] Julie A. Reuben, *The Making of the Modern University: Intellectual Transformation and the Marginalization of Morality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); George W. Marsden,

The Soul of the University: From Protestant Establishment to Established Nonbelief (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994). Marsden and Reuben, for instance, have offered nuanced and provocative reconsiderations of secularization. Other scholars have sought to broaden the types of educational sites and clientele that are studied—e.g., academies, community colleges, normal schools, students of color, and the poor. See, for example, Eisenmann, Hutcheson, and Nidiffer, "A Conversation," 291–336.

RETROSPECTIVE

A NOT SO DISTANT MIRROR: GREAT DEPRESSION WRITINGS ON THE GOVERNANCE AND FINANCE OF PUBLIC HIGHER EDUCATION

RICHARD NOVAK AND DAVID LESLIE

Many aspects of higher education policy have changed since the 1930s, but a large and fascinating body of work produced during this period should be reviewed whenever solutions to contemporary problems in governance and finance are needed. The body of work was a direct result of the Great Depression as both federal and state policymakers and higher education leaders sought a thorough understanding of how each state organized, governed, and funded its public colleges and universities. Authors working for the U.S. Office of Education, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, and the American Council on Education gathered information and produced over 3000 pages of reports and studies. As they examined issues of power and control, efficiency and productivity, and voluntary cooperation and self-regulation, they proposed and analyzed policy alternatives that would deliver educational services in an efficient and responsive way. This paper concludes that they became reluctant advocates for greater centralization and state control.

Between 1933 and 1940, the U.S. Office of Education, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, and the American Council on Education produced over 3000 pages of reports and studies regarding the role of the states in higher education. These reports and studies remain largely untapped and almost totally forgotten, yet they contain fundamental and heuristically useful insights into the institutional dilemmas faced by policymakers and colleges and universities during much of the latter two-thirds of the twentieth century. They form, in Barbara Tuchman's useful phrase, a "distant mirror" for many of the policy issues with which federal and state lawmakers currently grapple.

These works frame important lessons about the roots of continuing questions about how public higher education should be governed and how it should be financed. Condi-

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Richard J. Novak is executive director of the Center for Public Higher Education Trusteeship and Governance at the Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges. The Center is a resource for leaders in higher education and state government and promotes the value of effective citizen trusteeship.

David W. Leslie is Professor of Education at the College of William and Mary. He specializes in educational policy and studies in higher education.

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tions in the 1930s put higher education under stresses much greater than those it faces today, but classical questions about who decides and who pays were debated seven decades ago in terms that have changed remarkably little. Questions about the balance of responsibility between students and their families on one hand and the state on the other were fundamental to the resolution of a Depression-era funding crisis. Similarly, questions about institutional freedom and responsibility vexed those who sought to maintain a vibrant intellectual climate while meeting the immediate needs of a nation beset with deep social and economic challenges.

The flurry of reports on these issues in the 1930s was a direct result of economic stringency during the Great Depression and the reality that all government services, including higher education, were faced with unprecedented scrutiny. Consequently, federal and state policymakers and higher education leaders sought a thorough understanding of how each state organized and funded its public colleges and universities. There was an urgent need to categorize the various statutory and constitutional relationships between public c olleges and universities and their respective states—who controlled what, and why—and to obtain comparable information on state and institutional policies and practices in higher education finance. Without any reporting standards or protocols, the differences among the states made gathering and comparing data difficult.

A heightened awareness of higher education and higher education policy was to emerge among state policymakers in the 1930s. They asked pointed questions about levels of state investment and degrees of power and control; about the role of research, duplication of academic programs, the costs of college education, institutional productivity, and the ability of students to pay. State political leaders were also beginning to appreciate the need to be less political and more rational and strategic in planning and oversight of higher education.

State policymakers turned to the U.S. Office of Education for information and data. Part of the Department of Interior, the Office of Education produced several national studies on higher education during the 1930s. As its staff and publications budget were reduced drastically in the early part of the decade, the Office looked to the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching to co-author and disseminate its major reports on state higher education governance and finance. Together, the Office of Education and the Carnegie Foundation produced five studies, a critical body of literature for the time.[1] Supported by data and policy analysis, and widely disseminated, they played a critical role in highlighting the causes and effects of the financial crisis in higher education and the merits of greater state centralization of higher education governance to address the crisis. Concurrently, the leaders of higher education turned to the major national associations, the American Council on Education (ACE) and the National Association of State Universities, for additional analyses and guidance. ACE issued four reports during this period, some of which complemented the work of the Office of Education and Carnegie and others that would constitute a response to it.[2]

THE FINANCIAL PICTURE

Along with the nation, America's colleges and universities suffered financially during the Great Depression, particularly from 1930 to 1933. ACE surveyed 250 colleges and universities in March of 1932, and the 168 respondents reported a combined income of

$9 million less in school year 1932–33 than in 1930-31. Cuts were expected in buildings, research, salaries, and extension programs. Fifty-three respondents were public institutions, of whom 27 reported decreases in state government support averaging $141,000.[3] Some institutions suffered serious cuts: appropriations to the University of Wisconsin in its 193–35 budget decreased $2.5 million below its 1929–31 levels, and appropriations to the University of Illinois were reduced $1 million during the same period.[4]

The education and general expenditures of public higher education remained unchanged at approximately $200 million from 1930 to 1936, before climbing to $269 million by 1940 as the national economy fitfully improved. Faculty and students were hit particularly hard. Median salaries for full professors at public institutions dropped 15 percent from 1931 to 1935 (from $4,457 to $3,775), and by 1940 they were still below 1930 levels.[5] Public college students saw tuition increase 60 percent from 1932 to 1940, and despite funding increases in the later years of the Depression, increases in enrollment resulted in decreased per-student expenditures.[6] Private colleges suffered as well. Endowments decreased as markets and private giving declined. A June 1930 study of 149 smaller colleges revealed that 125 were in debt $15 million. Their yearly expenditures were only $12 million.[7]

THE AUTHORS

In the emerging national debate over how best to govern and fund public higher education, the authors, particularly those from the Office of Education and Carnegie, grappled with policy alternatives that would deliver educational services to students and citizens in an efficient and responsive way. As they did, they became reluctant advocates for greater centralization and state control. But they were also ambivalent about the implications of more centralization and control for institutional autonomy and freedom.

The authors were driven to become advocates for two reasons. First, they saw a real need for greater planning and central control—higher education operated in a competitive, unregulated environment, and consequently consumed too many public dollars. Second, they apparently feared that the federal government was poised to play a stronger role in national education policy. In the 1930s serious discussions, national advisory committees, and proposed legislation all foretold the creation of a cabinet-level Department of Education. The U. S. Office of Education had remained a branch of the Department of Interior and performed no policymaking or regulatory duties; its activities were confined to research and analysis. Nevertheless, the "specter" of federal control loomed large at this time, especially as the flow of federal education dollars increased to the states. The authors were drawn to the conclusion that if greater government control was imminent, better that such control came from the states than the federal government.[8]

Who were the major authors of some of these reports? Many had worked inside of higher education, either in top administrative positions on campuses or in higher education associations. They were widely respected among peers and colleagues and rotated in and out of government service. Frederick Kelly, co-author of two reports, was chief of the division of colleges and professional schools in the Office of Education and a

former university professor, dean, and president of the University of Idaho. Kelly was later appointed assistant commissioner and director of the Office's division of higher education in 1945, and he remained active with the Office until the late 1950s.

David Hill, who wrote one report and co-wrote a second, was a staff associate in higher education for the Carnegie Foundation where he had worked since the 1920s. Earlier for Carnegie, he had completed a study on higher education in California. He was a contributor to the 1931 Hoover Commission Report, more formally known as the *Federal Relations to Education, Report of the National Advisory Committee on Education.*

John McNeely was a journalist from Indiana who came to Washington after World War I, eventually to work for the Office of Education in 1923. He became a research assistant and specialist in higher education in the Office until his death in 1940. He assisted Kelly on one major report and was the sole investigator on many other Office of Education bulletins (short research monographs).[9]

Arthur Klein from Ohio State University chaired a special American Council on Education committee that issued a 1938 report responding to earlier Office of Education and Carnegie studies. He had a distinguished military career as well as a career in government and education, and had been chief of the division of higher education in the Office of Education from 1925 to 1930.

Alexander Brody was a law professor at St. Johns University in New York. He was commissioned by ACE to head a joint project with the Social Science Research Council to continue study of the issues presented by the report of the Hoover Commission. He produced the first comprehensive work on the legal relationships of public higher education to state governments.

M. M. Chambers, who became better known in later decades as an observer and advocate for maximum institutional freedoms, was a staff member of the American Council on Education until 1951. Chambers authored two reports discussed here, and co-wrote others during this period. He is probably best known for his bi-monthly and annual reports on public higher education appropriations.[10]

Although not an author of a report reviewed for this article, George Zook undoubtedly played a major role. Zook was president of the American Council on Education from 1933 to 1950, and prior to that, president of the University of Akron. For one year just prior to assuming the ACE presidency, he was U. S. Commissioner of Education.

FOUR THEMES

In 1930 the public sector of higher education was far more modest than today in terms of the number and diversity of institutions and students. Consisting of roughly 600 teachers colleges and normal schools, municipal universities, "1890 A & M" colleges, junior colleges, land-grant colleges, and state universities—the latter being the most fully developed-the public sector by 1930 enrolled just under half of the 1.12 million Americans in higher education. By 1940 it would claim 53.3 percent of 1.5 million students.[11]

Four overlapping themes emerged in policymakers' and educators' efforts to make sense of this difficult era for public higher education: 1) power and control (who governs); 2) money, efficiency, and productivity; 3) the inseparability of money and control; and 4) the merits of voluntary cooperation and self-regulation.

Without question the nation's Depression-era fiscal crisis led to American public higher education's first governance crisis in which the need to control funding came into conflict with traditions of institutional autonomy.

At the beginning of the 1930s, there was an immediate need for answers to questions most on the minds of state policymakers: Can centralizing operations of public institutions (budget requests, curricula, and new program requests) work effectively and save state dollars? Can state planning lead to a more rational approach to higher education policy and supplant decision-making based largely on politics and unbridled competition? While state policymakers debated change, the Carnegie Foundation and the Office of Education analyzed the experiences of states that had instituted centralized governance.

Together in 1933, the Office of Education and the Carnegie Foundation issued *The State and Higher Education: Phases of Their Relationship*, written by Frederick Kelly and John McNeely. The following year the Carnegie Foundation followed with *Control of Tax-Supported Higher Education in the United States*. Written by David Hill, it is most likely the first attempt to explain and categorize the governance structures of public higher education in all of the (then) 48 states, making this 384-page report the forerunner of later publications.[12]

Control of Tax-Supported Higher Education in the United States and *The State and Higher Education* combined to establish a baseline description of states' higher education structures. By 1930 9 states were organized in a centralized manner with a single governing board for all institutions. By 1932 there were 12, and by 1941 there were 16. Thus a total of 7 states moved toward greater centralization of university governance between 1930 and 1941. In order these seven states were Georgia (1930), North Carolina (1931), Mississippi (1932), Alabama (1932), Indiana (1932), Kentucky (1937), and Oklahoma (1941). Three states (Alabama, Indiana, and Kentucky) developed the beginnings of a state coordinating agency.[13] Hill also identified the states with the most decentralized structures in 1934 as Arizona, Kentucky, Missouri, New Mexico, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and South Carolina.

The introduction to *The State and Higher Education*, noted that the ". . . present economic situation has led colleges and universities to ask, just how they severally may best fit themselves into an adequate but economical system of higher education to serve a state, region, or the nation." It also asked what was becoming a common question at the time: "How may the institutions within a given state so coordinate their programs that the aggregate will constitute a unified system of state higher education?" As the introduction noted, the dominant, historical model for university governance was separate boards for separate institutions, a model that was now being questioned amid proposals for change in many states.[14]

Kelly and McNeely attributed the existence of separate boards for public institutions to state and local politics and the emergence of land-grant universities, rather than anything adopted from a European or private college model. According to the authors, most existing state universities had not welcomed land-grant colleges to their states or sought to add mechanical arts and agriculture to their own missions. Thus, land-grant institutions developed independently in terms of control and finance, helped by large federal subsidies and the support of local communities. This parallel development of

institutions raised concerns about cost, efficiency, and duplication, especially as state resources declined. In the heart of the book, Kelly and McNeely catalogued the curriculum offerings, numbers and types of institutions, and governance structures of ten selected states. Each state was described in detail with charts and over a dozen pages of narrative.

Reporting on the trend toward varying degrees of "unification of control," the authors provided evidence from the 12 states experienced with consolidated governing structures. The majority of these states were in the Midwest and West: Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Iowa, Kansas, Mississippi, Montana, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oregon, South Dakota, and West Virginia. From the turn of the century up until the book's publication in 1933, these states had been consolidating colleges and universities under single governing boards in an attempt to save state resources, and as the authors note, overcome, "the original lack of a State policy and program . . . the play of local community pressures . . . and to replace the uncoordinated development of the separate institutions."[15]

Control of Tax-Supported Higher Education in the United States was an attempt to mitigate fears about the "unification" of higher education institutions under central boards. The book began with an essay on the relationship of the nation's fiscal situation to higher education governance. The national debate, Hill observed, revealed a high level of concern about where public higher education was headed:

> The interest in the mechanisms and results of state control of higher education has been intensified further by the newly achieved desire of organized groups and of the general public to understand better the operations of government. This has occurred at a time when the citizenship was pleading with its Federal, state, and local governments for relief from individual distress and from economic dislocation and financial failure. Thus it has come about that the values of higher education accruing to society as a whole, as well as to the individual who expects to profit by special training, are being questioned. . . . The specific issue raised in many states, as relating to our tax-supported colleges and universities is whether a centralized or a decentralized form of state control of higher education is better both for the individual and for society as a whole.[16]

Hill again referenced the societal role of higher education as he made the argument for unified governance as a better means to serve society's needs. Although Hill made clear that he was not advocating a nationwide standardization or uniformity in state control (". . . so important are the factors of local or state environment . . . that any nationwide standardization of forms of control is undesirable, impracticable, and repugnant"[17]), he nevertheless asserted that excessive competition, duplication, and inefficiency could not be tolerated much longer by state lawmakers strapped for revenues.

Where there is decentralization of control of state colleges and universities . . . the difficulty of bringing change into a system is increased, especially where the disparate controls have been established by constitutional rather than by statutory provisions. . . . The financial stress in all states has made acute the desire to lessen the tax burden and to eliminate waste resulting from unnecessary duplication of plants and curricula in state

universities and colleges. Many reasons invite a better unification of the agencies of state control of tax-supported higher education.[18]

Hill predicted that the 1930s would witness efforts to exert greater control and consolidation of public university governance and he saw such a move consistent with notions of representative democracy. Hill viewed single, independent boards as more consistent with notions of pure democracy and potentially fraught with chaos—a comparison that no doubt rankled advocates of independent boards. Hill viewed "unification of control" not only as desirable in terms of efficiency, but compatible with representative democracy because such boards would represent larger community or statewide interests.

The multiplicity of governing boards and college presidents lobbying for more and more money and better educational services may have been responding to local needs, but it was clear to Kelly, McNeely, and Hill that in addition, someone had to have the responsibility to look after broader state interests. They felt that a voice on behalf of the "common good," in addition to that of the legislature, was necessary. A single, consolidated (unified) board was seen as the answer, as long as the members of this board were carefully selected to truly represent the interests of the state as a whole. And here, the authors preferred careful screening and selection by governors to general popular elections. Hill was explicit that all should be ". . . laymen or lay-women chosen solely for intelligence, ability, and general worth; but no group . . . will have designated quotas merely because they represent their special group."[19]

Kelly, McNeely, and Hill defined unification of control as consolidation of several governing boards under just one central board with an executive officer. It was meant to encompass the land-grant and state constitutional universities as well as the state teachers colleges, which in most states were governed separately and collectively by state departments and boards of education. Their proposal anticipated the modern concept of a consolidated university system with a chancellor and a single governing board to whom all campus presidents in the state were to report (with the likely exception of the junior colleges).

The authors rigidly adhered to one single unitary board and executive. They apparently could not see two or three university systems coexisting successfully in a state, even though Colorado, for example, had three separate systems at that time (and still does to this day): one formed around the state university and its branches, one around the land-grant college and its branches, and a third for the state teachers colleges. The authors refused to recognize Colorado as having a centralized structure in their classifications probably because they anticipated perceived or actual competition between the land-grant college and state university. They chose to ignore the fact that centralization existed within the university systems themselves, just as they ignored, or chose to dismiss, the fact that state teachers colleges were normally overseen by a highly centralized governance structure, in most cases state departments of education.

The authors also differentiated between unification under a single governing board and a looser arrangement under a state coordinating agency. State coordination as a means to centralize control of certain higher education decisions was not new but was still emerging and underdeveloped at this time. With one or two exceptions (New York being the first and most notable), states had not yet chosen to control colleges and universities by relying on coordination, a concept Kelly and McNeely called, "supervision without complete control." It would not be until the 1950s and later decades that

state coordination would come into wider practice through agencies with expansive yet demarcated powers to ensure broader state interests and mediate disputes among institutions. A third of the states would have coordinating boards and agencies by 1959.[20] The authors would likely have been surprised to see the evolution of this trend in state higher education governance.

Unification of control to Kelly, McNeely, and Hill also meant the delegation of authority from the legislature and the governor into the hands of one or two consolidated governing boards. It did not mean the centralization or reservation of authority by elected leaders or delegation of authority to state bureaucrats. Hill was quick to point out the dangers of too many politicians or state government agencies, particularly executive agencies, seeking control over various aspects of higher education's work when custom and tradition had established that the board, president, and faculty were to be in charge without such interference. For Hill, unification would not only clarify roles within multiple universities, but force discipline and coordination in the way in which state agencies and officials interacted with universities.[21]

In 1935 ACE issued an invaluable analysis to leaders of state government and public institutions, as well as to public university governing boards, which needed a clearer understanding of the reach and limits of their authority. *The American State and Higher Education: The Legal, Political and Constitutional Relationships*, by Alexander Brody, was a thorough reading of the law concerning the statutory and constitutional status of public institutions. It was likely the first in-depth legal analysis of the relationship of public higher education to state government and provides an excellent overview of the legal history of higher education governance as it developed in Europe and the American colonies. Brody explored the authority granted to institutions as agencies independent from state government and as quasi-independent agencies or statutory public corporations, noting the difference between state statutes and constitutions. What did it mean to be a constitutionally established university and how did such designation differ among states? How have the courts defined the corporate character of state universities? These and dozens of other governance questions were addressed through case studies, and analysis of legal precedents.[22]

Brody was particularly concerned about the independence of higher education in light of "new tendencies" of state governments. These new tendencies were toward administrative centralization into the hands of state executives and various cabinet-level agencies. Brody saw that the relationship of higher education to legislative power was giving way to relationships between higher education officials and central state administrative authorities. The courts had helped to define the separation of the university from the legislature, but how would the courts define separation from the executive branch? Brody saw such conflict as inevitable but was guardedly optimistic that a consistent set of case law would develop to define a relationship that insured continued institutional independence.

Interestingly, he concluded with a caveat that constitutional status may provide too much insensitivity to social change and the legislative process. Brody wrote: "The wisdom of placing a university beyond the legislative power of change may be open to question . . . constitutional institutions may, conceivably, become static in their views and thus defeat the will of the people as expressed in legislative acts."[23] Brody's own ambivalence, or at least recognition of needed limits to institutional freedom, had shown

through and in that sense he expressed concerns similar to Hill's about constitutional independence.

John McNeely further explored unification in *The Problem of Duplication as Attacked in Certain State Surveys of Higher Education* in 1934 in an Office of Education bulletin. In order to assess the effects of consolidation on curbing excessive academic program duplication, he analyzed the experiences of five states (Georgia, North Carolina, Oregon, Texas, and Virginia[24]) that had recently centralized certain aspects of higher education governance. He found the effects positive: money saved, students well-served, and better policies to guide decisions.

McNeely also authored the most complete analytical study of governance done at the close of the decade, *Higher Educational Institutions in the Scheme of State Government*. This 1939 bulletin concerned the fundamental status of governing boards of public institutions and paralleled the work of Hill, Brody, and M. M. Chambers. McNeely grouped boards into three kinds: constitutional, incorporated (constitutional or statutory), and non-incorporated statutory. He recognized that statutory boards "have a relatively unstable legal status," an understatement when one reviews the many changes in state laws affecting college and university governance over the past six decades. Foreseeing the trend in reorganizing governance, he wrote: "by the simple process of the enactment of a law, it is possible for the legislature to abolish their boards, create new boards in their place, or combine them with other boards." In preparing the bulletin McNeely visited 15 states to conduct interviews and gather data for his analysis. He also observed that centralizing state level governance helped to clarify the confusing and chaotic lines of authority between the states and public institutions.

MONEY, EFFICIENCY AND PRODUCTIVITY

In 1933 the Carnegie Foundation issued Economy in Higher Education by Frederick Kelly and David Hill. Primarily concerned with the impact of the Depression on the finances of both public and private institutions, it was a critique of higher education's costs and need for greater productivity, as well as a call for leadership and change in the way that higher education managed its business. The book's introduction speaks to the perceived magnitude of the shared task everyone faced:

> Most of the problems . . . have been with us for many years. Prosperity has disguised or hidden them; depression has brought them starkly into light. Before the present economic crisis some of these problems had been recognized and dealt with by able administrators; now they must be faced and solved by almost all.[25]

The book, particularly the second half, notes the public's alarm regarding the mounting costs of public higher education—both real and perceived—and cites 20 factors contributing to those costs, such as the expansion of academic courses, intercollegiate athletics, the expenses associated with publications and promotional activities, and the enlargement of faculties and administrative staffs. The term retrenchment was introduced in this work and suggestions for its implementation on campuses were reviewed in considerable detail. The book also discussed the need for individualizing education, questioned an over-emphasis on research, and expressed concern about the balance

between research and teaching. While calling for retrenchment, the authors nonetheless, warned of making decisions too hastily in the name of efficiency, either by governing boards and administrators or by state governments, that would do long-term damage to higher education.

Not unlike today, Hill and Kelly noted concerns about a proliferation of courses, electives, and majors reported in other studies of the period. Many classes were underenrolled according to these studies, and Hill and Kelly suggested that their consolidation or elimination could result in efficiencies. In so doing they made a strong case for larger class sizes. They cited studies that supported larger classes and pointed to others that found no educational (student achievement) advantages to smaller classes.[26] Hill and Kelly wrote: "The burden of proof concerning exceptionally high education values of small classes rests upon the advocates of small classes. Therefore, dogmatizing in fixing a maximum, whether of twenty-five or of thirty students, is unwarranted."[27]

While one overriding concern during the 1930s was whether or not there would be enough money to sustain colleges and universities. While these analyses clearly recognized that efficiency in operations was needed to stretch thinning resources, it was also becoming clear that society would be affected if opportunity for higher education was curtailed because of insufficient funding.

The questions of "who benefits" from, and "who pays" for, public higher education, the individual or society, were raised seriously perhaps for the first time in Economy and Higher Education. In the opinion of Hill and Kelly, society clearly benefits from broadened access to higher education. In chapter 3, "Higher Education and the Social Order," the authors bemoaned the lack of connection between the academy and society, the lack of a "sound philosophy of education to justify our large expenditures of public funds," and stated the need for a clear rationale for taxpayer and state support. In Hill and Kelly's view, this lack of a sound philosophy was, in part, "why unimpressed legislators and their taxed constituency have agreed with suggestions to cut educational appropriations."[28] Ten arguments and reasons that revolved around the social good were given to justify tax support for all levels of education. As pertinent then as today, they included domestic order, the need to sustain democracy, and the benefits to society of research. Individual benefits were also stated as reasons, but were clearly seen as secondary to social ones.

The authors believed strongly that the state had the primary responsibility for funding higher education. Although public college tuition did increase 60 percent from 1932 to 1940, this development went against a strongly held conviction that tuition should be as low as possible and remain low, even in the face of drastic reductions in state appropriations. Hill and Kelly made an observation in this regard that was perhaps more of a warning. The final sentence of their book reads:

> As for the effect upon the student, a single closing observation will perhaps suffice: In our democracy, where equality of educational opportunity is continually sought, attempts to shift permanently from taxpayer to student the major costs of state higher education seem destined to fail.[29]

Higher education was seen by the authors as so vital to society, that its leaders must "... awaken to the import attaching to measures or techniques offered for the purpose of

increasing economy and efficiency in our colleges and universities."[30] Just asking for more money from the state, at least in the early part of the decade, was not possible. Nor was it reasonable to expect significantly higher revenue from tuition increases. Hill's and Kelly's points regarding money and efficiency were: 1) society should and does clearly benefit from higher education, 2) society should pay the vast majority of the bills, and 3) higher education better be grateful and make the necessary internal changes to operate wisely and more productively with the state dollars it receives.

THE INSEPARABILITY OF MONEY FROM CONTROL

Governance and finance are inseparable in public higher education, and the connected issues of money and control permeated the writings of the authors during this period. They knew what was at stake: not only the ability of public higher education to spend money as it saw fit, but also the ability to direct education policy. Concerns about cost and efficiency, related not only to the composition and authority of governing boards, but to how these boards and their executives addressed the financial ramifications of the Depression, particularly when it came to efficiency and duplicative academic program costs. David Hill saw higher education's approaching dilemma when he noted that ". . . the inefficiencies or extravagances that can be traced to traditional forms of control of tax-supported colleges and universities are not tolerated today so readily as they were in times of apparent prosperity. . . ."[31]

Economy in Higher Education addressed the issue of money and control in its very first chapter. Hill and Kelly discussed the varying degrees of authority among different governing boards with an observation that there may be practical limits to board powers when attempting to make internal cuts and reallocations or reduce inter-institutional competition. This postulation on the limits of a board's ability to exercise its will internally upon institutions in times of fiscal constraint, perhaps stated for the first time in this report, captured the perennial frustration of board members trying to eliminate academic programs and reallocate resources. But equally important, the authors captured the concern that governing boards and presidents risked losing their internal budgetary authority to external policymakers if they did not successfully confront the economic realities facing their institutions.

> A grave difficulty in this time of economic stress and political uncertainty confronts the boards and executives of very type of college and university . . . revealed in this question: If our legislature, acting under pressure of constituents or because of a decrease in tax-returns, is determined to reduce materially our appropriations . . . what can we do in the way of more economical administration in order to forestall by a long view a threat of serious impairment. . . ?[32]

State budgeting practices were becoming more unified and consistent with the now-accepted submission to the legislature of an executive budget for all state agencies. Reform was considered necessary to better control and monitor appropriations and was often an outgrowth of emergency powers granted to governors to confront the fiscal crisis. Hill and Kelly cited examples from many states where centralization of the state budget process was eroding university authority, stating, "In recent years a tendency has

grown for legislatures to remove from boards and educational officers specific control over funds appropriated for higher education."[33] Brody's *The American State and Higher Education* addressed this issue as well. Brody was most insightful on the potential loss of control over university finances, especially for those institutions with large degrees of legal independence from the state.

> The movement toward a tight administrative system, centralized as much as possible under the direction of the governor, has raised the problem of the place of the constitutional university in this process. The important aspect of the problem here is the question of the control of . . . university finances. The creation of one central power to exercise supervisory control over all expenditures has made the latter a kind of super-board over the regents. By asserting its right to question the expenditure of money for university purposes, a state political board would be in a position to define both the policies and procedures of the board of regents. In the last analysis, power over finance is power over government. Money is the common denominator to which all policies and ideals of education must be reduced before they can become effective.[34]

Brody's work illuminated the fact that it was the internal organization of state government budget and administrative procedures that were a threat to institutional independence equal to that of how the state determined the actual governance structure of its colleges and universities.

The National Association of State Universities had weighed in earlier with a report of an internal committee on university control that vilified the proliferation of directors of finance to centralize state budgeting.

> The office is redundant, a source of friction, duplicating activities already authorized by law, without at the same time repealing the statutes for existing institutions. Under the action of such an official a Board of Trustees of a University or of any other institution are subjected to this authority and direction. . . . To clothe such an official with powers of control, equivalent to a veto of appropriations passed in the usual legal manner, is an anomaly in representative government.[35]

The importance of the relationship of money and control was certainly not lost on John McNeely. He observed that the autonomy of public colleges and universities to manage their own affairs was being curtailed as controls were instituted and centralized by state governments. (Later writers were to label these trends as bureaucratic "encroachment" or "intrusion."[36]) McNeely authored a bulletin in 1936 called *Authority of State Executive Agencies Over Higher Education* that attempted to determine the exact authorities of boards as they related to, or conflicted with, statutes, regulations, and executive power in cabinet-level offices on auditing, contracting, and the purchase and dispossession of land. This was perhaps the first national study to examine the relation-

ship of state cabinet-level agencies to public higher education, shedding light on the "new tendencies" of state government explored by Brody and warned about by Hill and Kelly.

McNeely also noted the sweeping reform of state fiscal practices that resulted in greater centralization and consistency for all agencies (including higher education) in terms of how budgets were prepared and administered. His 1940 Office of Education bulletin, *Fiscal Control Over State Higher Education*, reviewed the fiduciary oversight exercised by both governors and legislators. It was drawn from material McNeely collected through 1938 as many states were making changes in fiscal laws and practices. McNeely agreed with Brody, Hill, and Kelly that this reform led to erosion of the constitutional and statutory authority of institutions and their governing boards and presidents. Although McNeely seldom evaluated his findings critically (he began his career as a journalist and remained a somewhat dispassionate reporter in the bulletins), a reader quickly discerns that he was skeptical of a heavy state hand in higher education policy.

Of all of the authors, Hill was probably the most inconsistent in regard to new and changing state budget practices, in part a reflection of his ambivalence about greater central control. This is more evident in his solo effort, *Control of Tax-Supported Higher Education in the United States* than it is in *Economy and Higher Education*. On the one hand, he decried the erosion in university authority and political interference by any level of government, but on the other hand, as exemplified in the above quote regarding "inefficiencies or extravagances," he saw the need for a stronger state role in financial oversight, particularly by the legislature. In his 48-state summary, he devoted considerable space to the roles of legislatures, and without a hint of dismay, to those of state treasurers, directors of finance, and state auditors adding, "the critic [must] recognize the unity of purpose and of faith in education in running through a maze of governmental machinery. The numerous agencies now affecting the control of tax-supported colleges and universities are like a score of guy-ropes pulling at different angles in order to support a dizzy structure."[37]

VOLUNTARY COORDINATION, COOPERATION, AND SELF-REGULATION

The reports issued in the 1930s from the ACE served two primary purposes-to provide research and analysis on governance and funding, and to urge members (private as well as public, but particularly larger state universities and land-grant colleges) to adopt policies of self-regulation, voluntary coordination, and inter-institutional cooperation to forestall more dramatic state actions leading to centralized state control over governance and finance.

Although David Hill and Frederick Kelly discussed inter-institutional cooperation in *Economy in Higher Education* as a means to achieve greater efficiency and thus preclude intrusive action by legislatures, ACE foresaw immediate threats to the institutional freedoms of its member institutions and the need for a proactive response. (It is interesting that the term "institutional autonomy" never appeared in any of these writings to refer to the freedom of public universities from state government.)

One can only surmise that ACE, by commissioning Alexander Brody's *The American State and Higher Education*, saw research and analysis as a necessary first step

before formulating a response to the movement toward greater centralization of control by the states. ACE followed Brody's report in 1936 with M. M. Chamber's *Some Features of State Educational-Administrative Organization*. It documented the 48 states' governance structures for all levels of education. With a special emphasis on higher education, it paralleled the work done by Hill for Carnegie. As anyone familiar with Chamber's later works on the merits of voluntary coordination or on state government intrusion into higher education would easily imagine, he wrote this volume with a skeptical eye toward the increased consolidation and centralization of higher education governance that he saw occurring at the state level.[38] This work contains veiled (and not so veiled) criticism of such state actions, criticism that was to become more vociferous in his later writings. It is also clear from the introduction that Chambers and the Council were concerned about federal intrusion into the states' legitimate Constitutional roles in education.[39]

ACE followed in 1937 with *Government and Educational Organization: An Exploratory Study of the Relations of State and Local Government to Education*, again by Chambers. Initially commissioned to respond to fears that an increasing federal role in education would document inadequacies of state administrative operations for education, about half of this report addresses institutional cooperation, state coordination, consolidation, centralization, and other issues under the general theme of the relationship of higher education to government. One of its major purposes was to call for a thorough national study of the effects on colleges and universities as a result of the movement toward consolidation and centralization of university governance. Such a thorough study was never done, although later studies certainly examined some of the related issues.[40] The skepticism of ACE's leaders is obvious in the last paragraph. The report argues:

> Enough has been said to demonstrate that the great trend toward coordination, consolidation, and centralization of control in state higher education is no mere succession of sporadic episodes, but is all-pervasive. Undoubtedly, it is salutary on the whole and many of its phases deserve the support of educators and of the general public. But it is equally obvious to a careful observer that other phases of this great trend are not conducive to the advancement of education or to the promotion of the general welfare.[41]

ACE followed a year later in 1938 with a report by Arthur Klein called, *Cooperation and Coordination in Higher Education*. This report was prompted by a recommendation to ACE from the Association of Governing Boards to study the consequences of excessive institutional competition and duplication. Duplication and competition were an obvious concern to regents and trustees who no doubt feared the consolidation of boards on which they served, but who also realized the frustrations of trying to curb inter-institutional competition in academic programs. The concept of "regionalism" was introduced and defined as inter-institutional efforts to overcome unnecessary or detrimental competition through voluntary cooperation and coordination.

The report was clearly a call for ACE member institutions to practice regionalism to forestall government (both state and federal, but primarily state) efforts to gain increased control of higher education. It also attempted to demonstrate to those outside of higher

education, namely state policymakers, that regionalism was already prevalent in many states and could be replicated by institutions in others. By describing successful examples of regional cooperation and planning between both public and private institutions (based on a national survey of over 200 colleges and universities and over 80 educational and professional organizations), the report attempted to show how academic program duplication and the costs associated with it could be reduced and how a division of functions between teaching and research could be accomplished. Colleges and universities in Missouri, where each public university had its own board of regents, were held out as prime examples of voluntary coordination and cooperation. Early classifications of state structures for public higher education can also be found in this publication.

How successful were ACE and the other higher education associations in stemming the movement toward greater state involvement? As national associations they could only arm their members with arguments and strategies to advocate against consolidation in their own state capitals. Without searching the archives of proposed legislation in the 1930s, one would have to conclude that their success was limited. Seven states did move to enact laws to consolidate institutions and many more instituted centralized budget practices and state executive agency oversight into the affairs of colleges and universities. Years later, Chambers would attempt to document the effectiveness of voluntary cooperation and coordination in a dozen states, but interestingly he did not mention ACE nor any of its efforts of the 1930s.[42]

REFLECTIONS

The 1930s saw the first major effort to analyze the status of public higher education, where it was going, what its obligations and responsibilities to the states and the nation should be, and what the relationship of institutions to each other should be. This period of intense reflection on public higher education is unmatched, rivaled only by portions of the work of Clark Kerr and his colleagues forty years later at the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. It is a large and fascinating body of work that should be reviewed whenever there is a struggle to find solutions to contemporary problems in governance and finance. David D. Henry did so for the Carnegie Council in 1975 as he searched for answers to higher education's fiscal difficulties of the early 1970s, observing that the effects of the Depression on higher education were profound and lasting.[43]

Of course, many aspects of higher education policy have changed since the 1930s. Societal demands on higher education increased dramatically in the 1950s and 1960s. Universal access and world-class research supported by large infusions of federal dollars would emerge and override state and institutional uneasiness about a strong federal role in education. Although several states moved to centralize authority before 1941, the period of intense growth in higher education after World War II led others to centralize and consolidate decision-making authority in higher levels of system governance or state coordination. But many of the underlying policy questions for states and public institutions have not changed since the 1930s although the range and nature of proposed solutions have. In many ways the decade presented all of the arguments and many of the possibilities that have been debated ever since in the finance and governance relationships between states and public higher education. State policymakers continue to ask tough questions about the efficiency and productivity of higher education. Who decides

and who pays are questions to which American higher education has reached no stable or consistent answer. Instead, each of 50 states fits their answers to the fiscal constraints and the realities of the times. No national higher education finance model has resulted—the states are too different and too autonomous from each other and the federal government to create one.

In retrospect the free market "system" that still predominated in higher education up until the 1930s, that of substantial institutional freedom and self-direction, could not be sustained during the economic crisis of the Depression. As a result, educators and policymakers had to devise new ideas and workable solutions to more closely align institutional and state interests and fiscal constraints. Interestingly, it took a period of intense growth—that which occurred in the late 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, and not one of decline or depression—to implement many of their ideas and solutions. The collective efforts of the American Council on Education and other national higher education associations would not be enough to stem the tide toward greater state planning and centralization of decision making.

A "bargaining process" between states and institutions over how much autonomy public colleges and universities warrant and how much or how little furthers or impedes the public interest or the state agenda did clearly begin in the 1930s. It is a bargaining process that continues into the twenty-first century, particularly as higher education's external environment calls for greater reliance on market forces and decentralized decision making. At the heart of the process lie continued efforts to strike a balance between the state's need for planning, oversight, and incentives on behalf of the greater social good, and institutions' interests in maximizing their own freedom and autonomy.

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NOTES

[1] The works are: *Control of Tax-Supported Higher Education in the United States, Economy in Higher Education, and The State and Higher Education: Phases of Their Relationship* discussed in this article, in addition to two works by Edward Elliott and M. M. Chambers not discussed here: *Charters and Basic Laws of Selected American Colleges and Universities*, published in 1934, and *The Colleges and the Courts, Judicial Decisions Regarding Institutions of Higher Education in the United States*, published in 1936. On its own, the U.S. Office of Education also produced several bulletins (four reviewed in this article), annual reports containing information on American colleges and universities to the Secretary of the Interior, and four massive surveys on higher education. The largest survey was the study, *Survey of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities*, Bulletin no. 9, 2 vols. (U.S. Office of Education, 1930), which was over 1,900 pages and took four years to complete. For a useful discussion of many of the bulletins, reports, and surveys, see Richard Wayne Lyke's *Higher Education and the United States Office of Education 1867–1953* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Office of Education, 1975). Most of these documents can be found at the U.S. Department of Education's National Library of Education in Washington, D.C.

[2] These four reports are: *The American State and Higher Education: The Legal, Political and Constitutional Relationships* by Alexander Brody, published in 1935; *Some Features of State Educational-Administrative Organization* by M. M. Chambers, published in 1936; *Government and Educational Organization: An Exploratory Study of the Relations of State and Local Government to Education*, published in 1937; and *Cooperation and Coordination in Higher Education* by Arthur J. Klein, published in 1938.

[3] Figures are from the Report of the Committee on Educational Finance, American Council on Education, in *Educational Record* 13, no. 3 (July 1932): 185–91. Data on individual institutions was not reported.

[4] Figures are from *Economy in Higher Education*, 15–16.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Data is extrapolated from *Higher Education for American Democracy, A Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education* (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1947) and *The State and Higher Education: Phases of Their Relationship* (New York: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1933).

[7] Figures are from *Economy in Higher Education*, 15–16.

[8] See George Zook, *The Role of Federal Government in Education* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press: 1945), and Lykes, 110–13.

[9] Throughout this period, the Office of Education issued yearly reports called "bulletins" on various issues and topics at all levels of education. Forty-nine concerning higher education were issued between 1930 and 1940 on such areas as university research, legal education, and accreditation. Several addressed the relationship between higher education and the states. McNeely was the author of many.

[10] Chambers founded *Grapevine* in 1958 while at Illinois State University. *Grapevine* continues today, providing valuable information on state appropriations through its own website at the University. Its end-of-the-year report has recently been an annual feature in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* and published in full detail by the State Higher Education Executive Officers in Denver.

[11] Figures are from the U.S. Office of Education appearing in *Higher Education for American Democracy*.

[12] Charts and descriptions of state governance structures have been issued periodically since 1934 by various authors and agencies and continue today in the *Postsecondary Structures Handbook* published by the Education Commission of the States. The work remains an invaluable reference to educators and policymakers. If the narratives accompanying the 10 or so reports could be gathered together, bound in one volume and read chronologically in their entirety, they would provide a unique history of public higher education governance.

[13] Kelly and McNeely did not include Alabama and Indiana among the states in their 1933 study. One can attribute the omissions to the difficulty in gathering timely data.

[14] *The State and Higher Education: Phases of their Relationship*, vii.

[15] Ibid., 177–79.

[16] *Control of Tax-Supported Higher Education in the United States*, 6.

[17] Ibid., 360–61.

[18] Ibid., 367–68.

[19] Ibid., 364.

[20] See Lyman Glenny, *Autonomy of Public Colleges: The Challenge of Coordination* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1959), who notes that the creation of coordinating boards and agencies was done with relative ease because no change in state constitutions or laws providing for institutional boards was required. Perhaps the first call for a level of state coordination of public universities short of consolidating governing boards and separate from state boards of education was Robert J. Leonard's 1923, *The Coordination of State Institutions for Higher Education Through Supplemental Curricular Boards*. In it Leonard observed that the decades-long struggle for institutional survival had ended, and the 1920s, an era of relative prosperity, was a needed time for institutional cooperation even though competitive instincts still persisted.

[21] *Control of Tax-Supported Higher Education in the United States*, 362–63.

[22] Brody devoted considerable space to court interpretations of state laws and constitutions, as did Edward Elliott and M. M. Chambers in *The Colleges and the Courts*, issued by Carnegie in 1936. *The Colleges and the Courts* is very comprehensive and includes court decisions back to the nineteenth century. Its later editions were compiled solely by Chambers.

[23] Ibid., 214.

[24] As noted earlier, Georgia and North Carolina consolidated governance into a single statewide board; Texas and Virginia created a single board of control for teacher colleges. (The Texas legislature

was also attempting to strengthen the state board of education's control over "the competition and duplication of work found among the institutions." See Hill, 305.)

[25] *Economy in Higher Education*, 2.

[26] Interestingly, the majority of studies cited are from modern day Big Ten research universities: the University of Minnesota, Purdue University, the University of Iowa, and Ohio State University.

[27] Ibid., 79.

[28] Ibid., 39. The authors were probably influenced on the need for a "sound philosophy" by a 1932 conference in New York among several major college and university presidents around the theme, "The Obligations of Universities to the Social Order."

[29] Ibid., 110.

[30] Ibid., 48.

[31] *Control of Tax-Supported Higher Education in the United States*, 6.

[32] *Economy in Higher Education*, 3.

[33] Ibid., 9.

[34] *The American State and Higher Education: The Legal, Political and Constitutional Relationships*, 197.

[35] *Report on the Committee on University Control, Transactions and Proceedings of the National Association of State Universities* (Oxford, Ohio), 135–36.

[36] Most notably would be "The Efficiency of Freedom," a chapter of *Campus and Capitol: Higher Education and the State*, by Malcolm Moos and Francis Rourke, published in 1959 from the work of the Committee on Government and Higher Education chaired by Milton Eisenhower; the report of the Sloan Commission on Government and Higher Education called *A Program for Renewed Partnership* (Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger Publishing Company, 1980); and Frank Newman's *Choosing Quality: Reducing Conflict Between the State and the University* (Denver: Education Commission of the States, 1987). Moos and Rourke wrote, "Viewed from a management perspective alone, it violates the canons of sound administration for a college governing board to be vested with legal and public responsibility for the conduct of educational affairs while the real decision-making power resides at some remote spot in the state bureaucracy. Bureaucratic encroachment becomes especially vexing when decision-making . . . is placed in the hands of government officials at low echelons of authority," 12. Newman wrote, "Bureaucratic intrusion stems from the over-regulation of activities for reasons that are usually legitimate but by means that ultimately interfere with the ability of the university to perform its function in a timely, efficient, and creative manor," 23. Also see chapter four, "Role of the States," of the Sloan Commission report, particularly pages 115–19, on "Regulation: State Oversight and Administrative Autonomy."

[37] *Control of Tax-Supported Higher Education in the United States*, 49.

[38] Later works by Chambers on the topic include *Voluntary Statewide Coordination* published in 1961, *Chance and Choice in Higher Education* published in 1962, and *Freedom and Repression in Higher Education* published in 1965.

[39] Chambers wrote: "Undeniably there is a trend toward increased Federal participation in public education in the states; but under the Constitution this tendency can proceed only by means of voluntary cooperation between the states and the Federal government, and no legal compulsion can be used to deprive any state of the right to control its own program of public education. True, substantial Federal subsidies for specified educational purposes do actually tend to distort the educational programs of the beneficiary states; but as the need for greater financial aid for education from the Federal government grows more urgent, it becomes more and more apparent that a principal obstacle is objection to the extension of Federal control, and in this area the chief present need

is to devise methods of Federal aid that will leave the administrative responsibility of the states not only legally, but actually unimpaired . . .", 1.

[40] Foremost would be *Campus and Capitol: Higher Education and the State*, by Malcolm Moos and Francis Rourke, and Robert Berdahl's *Statewide Coordination of Higher Education*, published by ACE in 1971.

[41] *Government and Educational Organization: An Exploratory Study of the Relations of State and Local Government to Education*, 9.

[42] See *Voluntary Statewide Coordination*, published in 1961.

[43] See chapter 2, "Effects of the Depression and Recovery" of Henry's, *Challenges Past, Challenges Present, An Analysis of American Higher Education Since 1930, An Essay for the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1975).

SYMPOSIUM REPORT

EXPLORING OUR PROFESSIONAL BACKYARDS: TOWARD WRITING RECENT HISTORY OF AMERICAN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

These pieces recount a Symposium held at the History of Education Society Annual Meeting in Atlanta in October 1999 on the writing on the recent history of colleges and universities by several practitioners. The Introduction describes the nature of the Symposium. David Potts appraises the state of the field, noting that undertaking such tasks is a difficult career decision for a historian, but recent work in this genre shows movement toward realizing its analytical potential. Bruce Leslie summarizes the comments of panelists and audience, which focused particular attention on the challenges of chronicling the history of non-elite, regional campuses. The Symposium participants were Roger Geiger (Chair), Linda Eisenmann, Philo Hutcheson, Bruce Leslie, David Potts, David Stameshkin, and the audience.

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION
ROGER L. GEIGER

This Symposium emerged from discussions among Linda Eisenmann, Philo Hutcheson, and Bruce Leslie about a common predicament. Each was engaged at a different stage in compiling the history of his/her own or a nearby institution of higher education in the current era—the period since World War II. Leslie, the furthest along, was still in the early stages of writing a history of SUNY Brockport since 1945. Eisenmann has been conducting an oral history project with her graduate students designed to document the early years of the University of Massachusetts, Boston. Hutcheson has been examining the history of the community college that has graduated to become Kennesaw State University. Besides the challenge of writing contemporary history, these historians also share a second one of chronicling institutions designed to serve the open or mass sector of American higher education. Such institutions serve a local or regional constituency of largely non-residential students, many attending part-time, who are less engaged with their campuses. They usually lack high-profile athletic teams (probably a blessing),

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Bruce Leslie, author of *Gentlemen and Scholars*, is currently collaborating with Professor Ken O'Brien on a post-WWII study of SUNY Brockport, where both are members of the History Department.

David B. Potts is an independent historian who provides consulting services to colleges and universities planning institutional histories. His current research and writing is on the Yale Reports of 1828 and the history of Wesleyan University in the twentieth century.

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cultural institutions, or research institutes. And the institutions themselves are part of larger systems and thus not independent actors. They differ from most traditional colleges and universities in terms of governance, mission, and student clienteles. On the other hand, these kinds of institutions have made a distinctive contribution in the evolution of higher education in the United States in the second half of the twentieth century.

Recruited to join this Symposium were three historians well experienced with more traditional institutions. David Stameshkin chronicled the history of Middlebury College from its eighteenth-century origins to the late twentieth century. David Potts's early work examined Baptist colleges in the antebellum period. He is currently writing his second volume of a history of Wesleyan University, which will carry through the first two-thirds of the twentieth century. I describe myself as a consumer of university histories, although my volumes on the history of American research universities in the twentieth century contributed case studies as well.

The Symposium was designed to engage the audience in this discussion. Indeed, a great deal of additional experience with these issues was present. Among those mentioned below, Edward Gallagher has been both the head and the historian of Oakland County Community College. John Rury recently published a pioneering history of DePaul University. And Nancy Diamond was fresh from finishing a Ph.D. dissertation on the postwar development of Emory, Brandeis, and the University of California, Santa Barbara as research universities. In addition, Thomas Hamm, historian of Earlham College, could not be present but communicated his thoughts to Bruce Leslie by phone and letter.

The two pieces that follow represent the two facets of this meeting. David Potts ably presents the current state of institutional history. The contribution by Bruce Leslie that follows is focused more closely, although not exclusively, on the challenges of writing contemporary history of open-sector institutions. Working from the tapes of the Symposium, Leslie has sorted a wide-ranging discussion into four basic topics and synthesized the principle themes that were voiced about each. In light of the enduring significance of histories of individual colleges and universities, the *History of Higher Education Annual* is pleased to bring these reflections to a wider readership.

Roger L. Geiger
Editor

INSTITUTIONAL HISTORIES: STATE OF THE ART

DAVID B. POTTS

Comprehensive histories of individual colleges and universities continue to be a much-maligned genre among historians of higher education and within the historical profession. Few of us regularly read new work in this subfield, and rarely do we gladly agree to review—let alone write—such books. Yet we almost always need to consult these full-scale institutional histories in our research for all sorts of mainstream monographic works on higher education. The author of a worthy successor to Frederick Rudolph's *The American College and University: A History* (1962), despite the wealth of analytical works published since then, will probably reach for information and insights from institutional histories almost as often as Rudolph did.[1] The outcast population of cen-

tennial, bicentennial, and tercentennial (for Harvard and William and Mary) volumes remains, in many ways, the bedrock of our field.

Recent developments in comprehensive histories of American colleges and universities suggest that revisions in our thinking about the genre may be in order.[2] When Lester Goodchild and Irene Pancner Huk surveyed 210 works of this type in the late 1980s, they found only a handful that met substantial criteria for broadly contextual, critical, and balanced analysis.[3] The number of books that would meet or come close to meeting this measurement, however, has substantially grown in the last decade.[4] From my work as an author of institutional history and as a consultant to colleges planning or pursuing such works, I also see promising signs of support for the continued production of independent, highly professional studies. The next analytically rich history of American higher education is likely to obtain more help from newer college and university histories than Rudolph's ingenuity was able to extract from the supply available four decades ago. We are far short of meeting the need in our field for scholarly institutional histories, but there is movement in the right direction.

This movement yields benefits beyond enhancing broadly conceived survey histories. Just as the study of colonial New England achieved new depth from studies of a single town, the history of higher education reaps a variety of rewards from scholarly institutional histories. The generalizations we shape and reshape through topical, thematic, and other forms of research can be vitally informed, tested, and refined by the postholes we dig to illuminate the dynamics of change at a single college or university. As institutional historians show an increasing use of recent monographic work to influence the questions they ask and to otherwise inform their work, the results become ever more useful to future writers of monographs.

The history of a college or university, if informed by contextual awareness of contemporary developments at comparable institutions, yields insights similar to those found in the more highly regarded monographic studies limited to four or five decades in the life of a single institution or a group of them.[5] With a broader time span and a responsibility to include all aspects of campus life, comprehensive institutional histories may have an even greater capacity to delineate and probe a variety of long-term trends and their consequences. If researched in sufficient depth, these histories allow us to see the texture, scope, and interaction of major changes.

Such work is extremely demanding. Archival resources can be overwhelmingly ample or frustratingly thin. There are daunting complexities of institutional funding, expectations, and patience. Foundation funding is almost impossible to obtain. Before committing to the task, an author must address many professional issues. Will the reputation of this genre diminish opportunities for career advancement? How close to the present can the story travel before crossing a line that separates history from journalism? What are the other potential impediments to analytical achievement?

Institutional history is heavy lifting not only for authors, but also for colleges and universities who plan and support history projects. Perhaps due to the magnitude of the task, not much lifting has occurred even in the venerable and wealthy Ivy League institutions during the last half-century. Brown has produced no comprehensive history since the work of Walter C. Bronson (1914), Dartmouth since that of Leon B. Richardson (1932), Harvard since that of Samuel Eliot Morison (1936), Pennsylvania since that of Edwin P. Cheyney (1940), and Princeton since that of Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker (1946), who ends his narrative in 1896. Cornell has the work of Morris Bishop (1962)

and Yale that of Brooks Mather Kelley (1974), taking their stories to a bit beyond World War II. Picture books and other types of historical work have appeared, including encyclopedias for Princeton (1978) and Brown (1993), histories of the twentieth century for Harvard (1998) and Yale (scheduled for publication in 2001), and essays for Harvard (1986). Columbia, however, is the only Ivy member with a comprehensive history in process. It is being researched and written by Robert McCaughey, an American historian who has published work in the history of higher education, for the university's 250th in 2004.

Leaders in the administration, faculty, and governing board need to develop a shared understanding of why a college or university wants its history researched, written, and published. The most common reasons—observance of a major anniversary date, pursuit of a capital campaign, or other opportunities to demonstrate institutional worth—create the most problems when assigned primary status. Motivations of this type often push authors toward institutional self-promotion and unrealistic deadlines that work against balanced, thorough scholarship. The greatest potential for success comes from assigning top priority to enhancement of institutional self-understanding, achieved through the continuous critical nurture of institutional memory as a valuable resource for long-term use.

Even with the most promising purpose in place there is the complex task of finding the best-qualified author. How much prior contact with the scholarship of higher education should be expected? How much experience should be required in understanding the ways of governing boards, presidents, faculties, financial reports, and other key elements of the research task? Is it best that the author be drawn from beyond the institutional family? These and many more considerations need to be weighed and balanced. Before a historian of higher education commits to preparing a college or university history, it is only prudent that at least three conditions be firmly in place. The product anticipated by all parties to the arrangement is an independent analytical work of sufficient quality to make a contribution in the historical study of American higher education. There is a fully developed plan for patient and informed institutional support that can extend across changes in the presidency and/or in the leadership of the governing board. Last, but far from least, there are clearly envisioned career benefits for the historian.

As historians of higher education, we have responsibilities in our own backyards that can also serve our profession. The largely deserved negative reputation of the full-scale institutional history has discouraged us from going beyond study of a half-century or so in a single college or university or a small group of them. It may be time for a few more of us to engage the challenge of analyzing the development of a single institution across a century or two. It certainly would be timely for us to advocate, on our own campuses and at our alma maters, the thoughtful planning needed for successful projects of this type.

How well we know ourselves is in large part determined by how well we know our history. This is as true for institutions as it is for individuals. Encouraging and engaging the use of history to pursue a greater sense of institutional self-understanding allows us to practice collectively what we preach to individual students: seek self-understanding.

WRITING POSTWAR INSTITUTIONAL HISTORIES

W. BRUCE LESLIE

Historians of higher education lead double, perhaps even narcissistic, lives. We are employed by, and sometimes become institutional loyalists of, a college or university, the very object of our scholarly inquiry. We observe our professional environment with unique academic insights and sensibilities. Do we, then, have a special responsibility to bring our expertise to bear on an institution's present and recent past, regardless of our period of specialization? If so, how should responsibility be balanced between advancing the scholarly community of higher education historians and serving local academic communities?

Various pressures militate against writing the recent history of one's own, or any institution of higher education. The professional rewards are few. The cross-currents are dangerous. And the time frame is usually outside the author's area of special expertise. Most of us are more comfortable writing after the dust has settled. After all, the unique intellectual contribution of historians is observing change over time with perspective. Something in the range of a half-century is a normal comfort range; and archival rules reflect and enforce that distance. And surely historians write more authoritatively with greater hindsight.

On the other hand, compelling reasons encourage undertaking this potentially uncongenial task. First, if history should inform policy, then historians should be heard by those who manage and govern, particularly at institutions of mass higher education. Many state and community colleges that experienced a postwar "boom" and a post-1970 "bust," are finding the confidence to examine their mission and identity. After a half century of mass higher education, a new institutional order is apparent, and many institutions seek to clarify their niche within it.

Second, such research generates and preserves records critical to the future of this field. Only a few colleges and universities have adequate archives preserving the records that are the coin of our realm. Many participants in postwar higher education are passing from the scene, taking their memories and records with them. If we don't press the case for historical preservation, it may well not occur. Without those records, past events that have shaped state and community colleges will slip into the memory hole. Although the rise of mass higher education is arguably the most important development in modern American higher education, the institutions that served most of the expanded student population are those least likely to leave adequate records.

ONTO THE TIGER'S BACK

The Symposium panelists repeatedly highlighted how venturing into postwar institutional history carried them outside the normal reference groups, methodologies, and norms of their scholarly training. The experience can be humbling, one that helps us be more sympathetic with previous authors of this little honored, and often maligned, genre. When I arrived at SUNY Brockport thirty years ago, an older colleague had just produced a credible centennial history, one Lester Goodchild and Irene Huk cited for particularly good coverage of town-gown relations up to World War II. I greeted the author's comment that he could not write critical history about the period after his

arrival on campus as a foible of age. Thirty years later, I am writing the postwar volume and my attitude is changing rapidly! Graduate seminars don't train us to navigate the psychological and political currents that swirl around these projects.

Why embark on an institutional history, especially one focused on the recent past? David Potts half-seriously suggested "mental derangement"; the other panelists laughed uncomfortably, finding some truth in the remark. Occasionally an institution hires a historian for the purpose. Indeed, at the session, David Stameshkin brandished an advertisement for such a temporary position at Franklin and Marshall. Potts, perhaps temporarily deranged, accepted such a position to write his highly regarded *Wesleyan University, 1831–1910* (a second volume will cover 1911 to 1967). That arrangement comes closest to our professional expectations. Even then scholarly detachment may not be complete; after all, David Potts is a Wesleyan alumnus.

The task is rarely performed in such favorable conditions; instead institutional propinquity and loyalty usually play decisive roles. Only a wealthy institution, an elite private college or a research university, is likely to establish a position such as the one at Franklin and Marshall. Histories of colleges with limited discretionary funds usually start less auspiciously. Linda Eisenmann's campus chancellor, herself a historian, subtly commented in several public forums that "we need a history of U. Mass. Boston. Don't you think so Linda?" Professor Eisenmann, astute and then untenured, suddenly discovered a newly developing interest in her employer's history. My project had the opposite trajectory. Its inspiration was born when a SUNY administrator sabotaged a proposed multi-campus collaborative history to mark the system's fiftieth anniversary. Frustrated, I proposed a postwar history of the Brockport campus, and felt fortunate eventually to secure a few course releases and a modest research budget.

Community colleges are especially disadvantaged; they lack higher education programs to sponsor research and their historians have little time for writing. As part of an ongoing interest in the history of two-year colleges, Philo Hutcheson began to examine the founding of Kennesaw Community College, down the road from his base at Georgia State. But such fortuitous scholarly curiosity is rare. Perhaps more funding will emerge as community colleges and state colleges mature. However, the history of most of these institutions will probably continue to depend on the sacrifices of scholars inspired by institutional loyalty.

Who should undertake such a task? The panel agreed unanimously that this is not a smart career move. It brings little honor and often considerable aggravation. It is probably best left until later in a career, and certainly until after tenure, or even retirement. Unless you land one of the rare funded positions, aspirants might wait until their security matches their institutional loyalty. Sadly, colleagues may see institutional history as "soft" scholarship, possibly proof that one is ready for the emeriti pasture. And there is always the danger of spending years on a manuscript that winds up buried in the archives.

Despite the cautionary tales, the panelists obviously believe institutional histories offer psychic rewards and make important contributions. Institutional histories are the key building blocks to writing more general histories of higher education, thematic or narrative. Roger Geiger described how the institutional vignettes he constructed became the bedrock of his depiction of research universities. Histories also can have an impact on the institutions under the microscope. As Burton Clark has pointed out, institutional sagas affect the context of policy-making; shaping an institution's memory has

on-going consequences.[6] All campuses have "histories"; the issue is whether or not they will be informed by professional knowledge of the field. Shaping the institutional memory means that we practice the truism we preach to students: the present is only understood in the light of the past.

NEW METHODOLOGICAL FRONTIERS

The panelists provided numerous examples of ways in which this work stretched our methodological repertoire. Most historians receive little training in recent history or "public" history. As David Stameshkin commented about studying Middlebury College in recent times, "I became a journalist, whereas I used to be a colonialist."

An archival divide separates types of institutions. A small number of colleges and universities have full-time archivists presiding over well-funded archives that are visible on campus. Institutional records and individual papers are deposited as a matter of course. But such institutions are the exception. Most state colleges have minimal archives, often staffed by a librarian who has drawn the short straw. Although colleges usually fall under state records management policies, those are honored more in the breach than in practice. Even presidents do not accept that "you can't take it with you." Their papers often exit with them. At Brockport we are courting a long-time president whose archives reside in cardboard boxes at his retirement home. Having gained his confidence, we return from each interview with another box or two. Many records may have been turned away for lack of space. In other cases retiring faculty may not even know an archive exists. Serendipity too often rules. At my campus, one critical set of photos was retrieved from a dumpster by an alert staff member, but the student newspaper's old pictures went to the landfill just before we inquired about them.

If state colleges have started building serviceable archives, they are still a dream for most community colleges. Philo Hutcheson's research into the community college years of what is now Kennesaw State University in Georgia yielded neither presidential nor faculty papers, only presidential annual reports, occasional faculty newsletters, and student newspapers. To study Oakland Community College in Michigan, Ed Gallagher found the best sources in a high school, the public library, the local historical society, and his own file cabinets.

Rather than stride into an archive, peruse a finding guide, and request carefully numbered boxes, the institutional historian may unexpectedly become an archive promoter and builder. The archives may be so under-utilized that, as Linda Eisenmann found at UMass Boston, merely sending her students through their doors significantly increased usage figures, helping to justify more support. Once the archives receive greater prominence, campus contacts multiply and sources start coming in, though in unsystematic ways. It can become difficult to walk across campus without getting an inquiry about, or an offer of, records and memories. A surprising wealth of sources lie about campuses, randomly pruned by floods, fires, zealous maintenance workers, and efficient secretaries. Student research papers offer insights; check with colleagues in psychology, sociology, and anthropology. Fortunately, most campuses contain pack rats who have collected bureaucratic detritus for a generation. Take them to lunch.

Seemingly simple tasks can be surprisingly difficult. Such basic statistics as the race and gender of students may be missing for the years before the Federal government began demanding such data in the 1960s. Students or research assistants may be

reduced to counting faces and names in yearbooks.[7] With the assistance of the alumni office, questionnaires can generate data on less visible categories such as religion, ethnicity, class origins, parental education, and subsequent lives. Most alumni of the postwar era are alive and at a stage of life when many are keen to tell their stories. On the other hand, the number of faculty from the period is rapidly declining, and surviving administrators are rare. It may be cold-blooded but sensible to approach them first for oral histories.

Oral history can recover information and perspectives missing from the archive. However, conducting interviews is time-consuming and transcription is expensive. These obstacles may be overcome by turning it into a project for research classes. Preparing students for such tasks requires an expertise many of us lack, and the results may be disappointing. Though imperfect, student interviews may be the only way to preserve some parts of the record.[8]

Given the lack of resources, this can become a good project for research classes, an approach Linda Eisenmann took in response to her chancellor's encouragement. Students get first-hand experience interviewing subjects, processing data, and interpreting sources. They are forced to make that difficult leap from consuming finished history to producing it. On many campuses, the college archive is the only one readily available to students; an active archive becomes a historical laboratory.

The records of state systems offer another resource. Central offices demanded and generated data that may not have survived locally. Centrally designed plans, although rarely executed as drawn up, offer insights into the pressures emanating from state capitols. Archival quality varies dramatically from state to state. For instance, Nancy Diamond found riches in the University of California system, while even locating the abysmal SUNY archives is a challenge.

In conclusion, except at those few institutions blessed with rich archives and a full-time archivist, institutional historians may have to spend considerable time and effort retrieving records and generating data. If producing a published history in such conditions does not fit your priorities, at least consider enlisting students to help preserve the historical record and build the evidentiary base for future histories.

INTERPRETATION

Authors of postwar institutional histories write in an incomplete interpretive context. Even the definition of higher education can be unclear, especially when dealing with community colleges. And it is not clear to what extent over 3,500 institutions with more than 15,000,000 students and limited federal control can be considered a system. Roger Geiger, Richard Freeland, and others have placed research universities into a national context.[9] But after World War II the boundaries of higher education were stretched by demands for access. The resulting institutions may have been part of one family, but some were only distant relatives. The next challenge is to integrate state colleges and community colleges, which enroll a majority of American students, into a larger narrative. For now those writing the recent history of the institutions that drove mass higher education have to be content with providing the basis for future interpretations rather than fine-tuning existing scholarly interpretation.

Any interpretation of early mass higher education will need to place the search for viable models at its center. Linda Eisenmann found that UMass Boston continually

reinvented itself into new forms for which there were no definite models in its early years. SUNY Brockport transmogrified at similar speed, changing within a decade from a teachers college to a residential liberal arts college to a comprehensive college catering to "non-traditional" students. During its genesis, Kennesaw Junior College begat Kennesaw State College begat Kennesaw State University. Many community colleges, now housed in complexes resembling the Maginot Line, began modestly in high schools and abandoned buildings. We seem far from fitting these into a national narrative.

Roger Geiger suggests that genre histories provide an interpretive halfway house between national and institutional history. Linda Eisenmann concurs, offering as a suggestion a history of the "Urban 13" universities that would draw comparisons across this little studied collection of urban-centered, regional institutions.[10] The resurgence of faith-based institutions and of historically black colleges and universities, as well as the rise of tribal and Hispanic colleges offer other genres deserving historical treatment. State colleges and their systems await their historian. John Aubrey Douglass' recent history of the California system is a model study that might be replicated for other states.[11] "Community college" may cover such a range as to defy categorization, given the variety of models spawned by strong local pressures. Their commitment to access, extensive vocationalism, and unique faculty culture differentiate them from baccalaureate institutions.[12]

Thus while institutional historians keep their cosmopolitan professional colleagues on the horizon, they must also address the locals. Doing so imposes constraints. The most obvious is censorship, but the pressures are rarely so straight-forward. Constituencies will press for coverage. Linda Eisenmann was encouraged to start her oral history project with politicians and administrators, revealing people's expectation that such histories will be written from "top-down." Philo Hutcheson suggests that every institution has its seamy side, which makes gripping history but courts unpopularity. His view of the racial implications in the founding of Kennesaw will not go down well locally. SUNY Brockport's most significant social impact seems to have been promoting the upward mobility of Catholic students, not a palatable conclusion for a state institution nor for colleagues who define the college's mission in terms of race and gender. Roger Geiger pointed out that examples of institutional failure and crisis are very revealing moments in an institution's existence. But re-living them pains participants and offends institutional loyalists. One otherwise supportive emeritus publicly warned me not to mention a newspaper expose on a previous administrative crisis, precisely the type of event Geiger had in mind.

Self-censorship may be the most effective restraint on tenured or retired authors. Even if an institution is not prestigious, many people have devoted years, careers, and identities to it. Hurting them is difficult to justify, even if the evidence is there. Thomas Hamm was encouraged by a completely scrupulous administration at Earlham, and yet he found himself reluctant to deal with events in living memory. He compromised by only using public records and avoiding dealing with personality conflicts for the last 25 years. Linda Eisenmann hypothesized that one reason Richard Freeland barely discusses UMass Boston in his book on higher education in Massachusetts may be because he was working there while writing the book.

Historical memory is particularly tricky when dealing with living sources. When embroiled in controversy, participants see things differently with hindsight. Remembering across decades, our sources may wear rose-colored glasses. Some rivalries never

die, but time heals many wounds. If an institution has only limited archival collections, the mystical chords of memory create myths that are difficult to evaluate.

Writing recent institutional history yields psychic rewards and penalties. David Stameshkin's employers, past and present, tolerate his musical spoofs, but a Middlebury dean has refused to talk to him since the publication of his second volume. Thomas Hamm enjoyed writing his Earlham history but found it harrowing and has resolved never to write again about living colleagues. David Potts often receives letters thanking him for his first volume on Wesleyan, but his volume stopped in 1910! As scholars we become cosmopolitans, but as our careers develop we also become locals again. This form of scholarship exacerbates that tension.

THE FINAL PRODUCT

Monographs are the scholarly coin of the historian's realm. Visions of volumes like the ones David Potts, David Stameshkin, and Thomas Hamm wrote about Wesleyan, Middlebury, and Earlham dance in the heads of historians of younger institutions. But most administrators dream of placing a beautiful, illustrated volume in the hands of alumni, donors, and potential students. Is the former the only product worth devoting several years of a scholarly life? The panelists disagreed.

Our vocabulary automatically slipped into a celebratory/scholarly dichotomy. To some, only the scholarly is worth the time and effort. David Potts advises institutions wanting a "coffee table book" to hire a journalist. But others wondered whether we can uphold that dichotomy. Particularly at state and community colleges, avoiding illustrated histories may mean that no history will ever be written; institutional sagas will be perpetuated without serious historical input. Is "coffee table book" a pejorative concept, or is it an opportunity to convey historical understandings to larger audiences? Can we produce an illustrated history and not be drummed out of the History of Education Society? The panelists didn't resolve these questions.

But there is a worse fate—not being published at all. Few institutions can guarantee funding or call upon a university press. Many histories that have been torpedoed or ignored by unsupportive administrations reside, largely ignored, in archives. With publication in the balance, historians ignore the sensibilities of potential patrons at their peril.

One solution is to seek a variety of outlets that offer halfway houses between monographs and obscurity. And different forums that address a variety of audiences help negotiate a path through controversy. Ed Gallagher wrote a fairly celebratory history and saved his critique for oral presentations and "thanked God the president didn't attend any of them." Historians who are hesitant to plunge into full-scale institutional histories can test the waters by publishing small pieces in alumni magazines and campus newsletters. These provide an opportunity to find a voice for addressing non-scholarly audiences while building a constituency that supports further research and publication. Reactions to such articles provide insight into audiences' needs and sensibilities. Emeriti and alumni compose the most interested potential audience, sharing a desire to recapture "the good olde days." But current campus community members are more receptive to a historical memory that poses the past as prelude to the new and improved version now on offer.

CONCLUSIONS

Several themes ran through the discussion. First, those writing about wealthy private colleges and research universities and those working on community and state colleges reported facing different interpretive contexts. For the venerable institutions, the post-war period is one more chapter in a story with deep roots and a clear trajectory. Those working on state colleges and community colleges chronicle institutions that were founded or fundamentally changed identities after 1945.

Second, an "archive gap" threatens to distort future general histories. The few institutions with extensive archives and ample funding to underwrite histories will dominate historical memory while the institutions attended by most Americans will be forgotten. Although the emergence of mass higher education must be a central theme of the postwar era, the history of the world's first system of mass higher education may well be written with little knowledge of the institutions that made it possible.

Third, institutional and professional expectations conflict in terms of conceptual framework and mode of publication. Historians of higher education value an institutional history as a case study illuminating a national trend, one piece of evidence supporting a generalization. Local readers read institutional histories to seek personal meaning by locating their lives within the evolution of "their" college or university. Professional historians communicate by scholarly article and monographs, while illustrated "coffee table" books and articles in campus and alumni publications most directly reach local audiences. One way to serve both masters, the panel urged, is for institutional histories to address professional questions implicitly even when writing for an audience that would not be receptive to an explicit scholarly framework.

Finally, this task can be overwhelming. You may well wind up building an archive, enhancing campus community, courting alumni and emeriti, and soliciting funds for publication. The loneliness of archival research and colleagues' lack of interest in your work may soon seem utopian. A famous alumnus of a New England college supposedly ad-libbed before the Supreme Court, that although his *alma mater* was small "*there are those who love it.*" Such sentiments support and constrain American colleges and universities, and those who dare try to shape their living historical memory.

NOTES

[1] Rudolph's bibliography lists more than 150 institutional histories he consulted during a year of research at the Library of Congress.

[2] Although my brief survey of the field is limited to colleges and universities in the United States, developments in such nations as Great Britain are also notable, especially the almost completed works on Oxford (8 volumes) and Cambridge (4 volumes). The remaining volume for each is scheduled for publication in 2001.

[3] Lester F. Goodchild and Irene Pancner Huk, "The American College History: A Survey of Its Historiographic Schools and Analytic Approaches from the Mid-Nineteenth Century to the Present," *Higher Education Handbook of Theory and Research*, vol. 6 (New York: Agathon Press, 1990): 201–90.

[4] Among recent works that might merit favorable regard in the categories established by Goodchild and Huk are two single-volume approaches: David R. Contosta, *Villanova University, 1842–1992: American-Catholic-Augustinian* (University Park: Penn State Press, 1995); Thomas D. Hamm,

Earlham College: A History, 1847–1997 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997). Multivolume histories include David M. Stameshkin, *The Town's College: Middlebury College, 1800–1915* (Middlebury, Vt.: Middlebury College, 1985) and *The Strength of the Hills: Middlebury College, 1915–1990* (Hanover, N.H.: Middlebury College Press/University Press of New England, 1996); David E. Cronin and John W. Jenkins, *The University of Wisconsin: Politics, Depression, and War, 1925–1945* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994) and *The University of Wisconsin: Renewal to Revolution* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999), carrying forward the work initiated in an earlier two-volume work by Merle Curti and Vernon Carstensen, *The University of Wisconsin: A History, 1848–1925* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1949). Two more of this type have a second volume in progress, Robert E. Curran, *The Bicentennial History of Georgetown University: From Academy to University, 1789–1889* (Georgetown University Press, 1993); David B. Potts, *Wesleyan University, 1831–1910: Collegiate Enterprise in New England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992). Also deserving mention is a richly illustrated narrative history by a journalist, Charles C. Calhoun, *A Small College in Maine: Two Hundred Years of Bowdoin* (Brunswick, Me.: Bowdoin College, 1993).

[5] Studies of a time segment in the life of a single institution include: Hugh Hawkins, *Pioneer: A History of Johns Hopkins University, 1874–1889* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1960); Ronald Story, *The Forging of an Aristocracy: Harvard and the Boston Upper Class, 1800–1870* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1980); Marilyn Tobias, *Old Dartmouth on Trial: The Transformation of the Academic Community in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: New York University Press, 1982); Richard Warch, *School of the Prophets: Yale College, 1701–1740* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973); Louise L. Stevenson, *Scholarly Means to Evangelical Ends: The New Haven Scholars and the Transformation of Higher Learning in America, 1830–1890* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986); Mark A. Noll, *Princeton and the Republic, 1768–1822: The Search for a Christian Enlightenment in the Era of Samuel Stanhope Smith* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989); Polly Welts Kaufman, ed., *The Search for Equity: Women at Brown University, 1891–1991* (Hanover, N.H.: University of New England Press, 1991). Works on segments in the histories of groups of institutions, ranging from 4 to 16 per study, include: George E. Peterson, *The New England College in the Age of the University* (Amherst: Amherst College Press, 1964); Laurence R. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965); Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from Their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1984); Roger L. Geiger, *To Advance Knowledge: The Growth of the American Research Universities, 1900–1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); David B. Potts, *Baptist Colleges in the Development of American Society, 1812–1861* (New York: Garland Press, 1988); W. Bruce Leslie, *Gentlemen and Scholars: College and Community in the "Age of the University," 1865–1917* (University Park: Penn State Press, 1992); Julie A. Reuben, *The Making of the Modern University* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

[6] Burton R. Clark, *The Distinctive College* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 1992 [1970]).

[7] For an innovative approach to recovering student demographics, see John Rury & Charles S. Suchar, *DePaul University: Centennial Essays and Images* (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall Hunt, 1998).

[8] For assistance in oral history you may wish to consult with colleagues in sociology and anthropology. Among useful printed guides are two volumes in The Nearby History Series: *Ron Butchart, Local Schools: Exploring Their History* (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1986) and David Kyvig and Martin Marty, *Nearby History* (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1982). A classic source is Edward D. Ives, *The Tape-Recorded Interview* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1974). See also Raymond Gorden, *Basic Interviewing Skills* (Itasca, Ill.: F. E. Peacock, 1992); Ron J. Grele, *Envelopes of Sound: The Art of Oral History*, 2nd Edition (New York: Praeger, 1991); and Willa K. Baum, *Oral History for the Local Historical Society* (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1987). See also the Oral History Association's web page at www.Baylor.edu.

[9] Roger Geiger, *Research and Relevant Knowledge: American Research Universities since World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993). Richard M. Freeland, *Academia's Golden Age: Universities in Massachusetts, 1945–1970* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

[10] According to Linda Eisenmann, the 'Urban 13' was an informal grouping of public, regional universities in urban settings that was recently expanded to 21 such institutions. These institutions overlap with the more formal Coalition of Urban and Metropolitan Universities.

[11] John Aubrey Douglass, *The California Idea & American Higher Education, 1850 to the 1960 Master Plan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000).

[12] Stephen Brint and Jerome Karabel, *The Diverted Dream* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986) provides a beginning; however, see Philo A. Hutcheson, "Reconsidering the Community College," *History of Education Quarterly* 39 (1999): 307–20.

REVIEW ESSAY

MARKETS AND HISTORY:

SELECTIVE ADMISSIONS AND AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION SINCE 1950

ROGER L. GEIGER

The system of selective admissions to colleges and universities that now dominates the prestige hierarchy of American higher education is largely the product of the last half of the twentieth century. This essay reviews three publications that shed new light on these developments. They demonstrate that the market for high-ability students has powerfully affected the behavior of colleges and universities in the selective sector. This market has thus been a determinative force in the history of higher education, but its workings encompass numerous dimensions seldom included by other social scientists. Historians can make a distinctive contribution to understanding of how these markets have been affected by contingent cultural factors, and how they have impacted individual institutions.

Elizabeth A. Duffy and Idana Goldberg, *Crafting a Class: College Admissions and Financial Aid, 1955–1994* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).

Caroline M. Hoxby, "How the Changing Market Structure of U.S. Higher Education Explains College Tuition," National Bureau of Economic Research, Working Paper 6323 (Cambridge: NBER Working Paper Series, December 1997).

Michael Johanek, ed., *A Faithful Mirror: Reflections on the College Board and Education in America* (New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 2001).

In 1960, Harvard College's retiring Dean of Admissions, Wilbur J. Bender, penned a testament of sorts to guide his successor. After skillfully balancing Harvard's several constituencies during a decade of rising applications, Bender now warned against the allures of meritocracy. A policy of admitting only students of superior academic ability—the "top one per cent"—might appear to be both simple and rational, but it ignored many pitfalls. Bender insinuated that students distinguished by academic achievement

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Roger L. Geiger, editor of the *History of Higher Education Annual*, is currently writing *The American University in the Marketplace*. In 2000 he published *The American College in the Nineteenth Century* with Vanderbilt University Press.

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alone might lack creativity, be "focussed narrowly on grade-getting," or tend toward "bearded types." A top-one-percent Harvard, furthermore, might alienate students from the constituencies that had traditionally supported the college—private schools, eastern Massachusetts, and alumni. Moreover, "would the traditional pattern of extracurricular life disintegrate?" Far better for the College and for its students to maintain "a certain range and mixture and diversity in its student body."[1]

At this juncture prestigious colleges all over the country pondered similar situations: how to deal with more, and more highly qualified, applicants than they had ever dreamed of. The history of admissions in American higher education has largely focused on just such institutional issues. However, Caroline Hoxby writes, "much previous work on college behavior treats colleges as independent decision-makers, not as organizations whose choices are increasingly dictated by forces beyond their control."[2] Indeed, the writings reviewed here suggest that historians might better focus their attention on the changing market for college admissions rather than the coping behavior of individual colleges.[3]

The problem of choosing whom to admit has a special meaning for the selective sector of American higher education. All institutions of higher education delimit their constituencies and are buffeted to some extent by the vagaries of demography, but only in the selective sector does the number of applicants having some combination of high academic ability and capacity to pay the price of college become a market-shaping factor. The selective sector has always been hierarchical, but its dimensions are historical variables. At the head of this hierarchy are the most renown American colleges and universities; at the ill-defined nether end are institutions where qualified applicants barely exceed places in the freshman class, or where colleges only pretend that is the case. Today, the selective sector would include many private liberal arts colleges, the private research universities, and a number of state flagship universities, all of which fish for undergraduates in the same waters. All told, perhaps a fifth of the more than five million full-time undergraduates at four-year colleges and universities attend selective institutions.[4] By a number of measures—academic leadership, human capital formation—these are important institutions. According to the litrature reviewed here, a competitive market has increasingly determined who attends them as undergraduate students.

SELECTIVE ADMISSIONS SINCE THE 1950s

College admissions have recently assumed unprecedented prominence in the popular media. Controversy has swirled around the ending or curtailment of racial preferences. Spiraling private tuition has been linked to the system of admission and financial aid. A sure index of public consciousness, the industry of providing guides and information has mushroomed as never before. Clearly, the situation has been ripe for a long-range, disinterested view of how we have reached the current state of affairs. *Crafting a Class*, the first longitudinal depiction of the postwar admissions market, is thus a timely work.[5] This study is based on case histories of 16 selective (Baccalaureate I in the former Carnegie Classification) liberal arts colleges in Massachusetts and Ohio. The authors, with the sponsorship of the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, gathered pertinent documents, statistics, and personal recollections related to admissions and financial aid from each institution. Their study, nevertheless, is considerably more than a saga of liberal arts colleges. The range of selectivity is fairly representative of the selective sector as a

whole. Amherst and Williams represent the highest echelons of selectivity, just below the Ivy-League trinity of Harvard-Yale-Princeton. The three women's colleges—Wellesley, Smith, and Mount Holyoke—come close to being special cases, but actually differ only by degrees.[6] The other colleges cover a representative range of selectivity. Moreover, all these institutions have reacted to the same external conditions affecting college admissions. Thus, the succession of institutional policies reflects the evolution of a national market. The authors identify three broad eras of this evolution: the "tidal wave" of growing enrollments from 1955 through the mid-1960s; a succeeding period of crisis characterized by adverse patterns of enrollment, credentials, and recruitment; and, from 1980 to the end of the study, an environment of heightened emphasis on quality and competition.

Enrollments in American colleges and universities roughly quadrupled from 1955 to 1975 as cohort size expanded and participation rates rose. Interestingly, only the first half of this demographic tidal wave benefited the selective sector. But the benefits were enormous. The colleges studied here experienced soaring applications of increasingly able students. They were able to expand enrollments by an average of 41 percent while simultaneously raising the quality of their incoming classes to (in most cases) the highest levels ever attained. At first, this appears to have been a natural process, driven by rising student demand. But the process soon gave birth to an objectified notion of selectivity. Previously, the authors write, "the number of applications and the number of students admitted by a college were closely guarded secrets. Once admissions statistics began to be publicized [in 1959], however, they came to signify a college's quality" (p. 37). Information, as will be seen, is what makes markets.

As selectivity acquired new and conspicuous prominence, the system of admissions was gradually reshaped. Certain protocols were needed to make the system workable, hence the adoption of uniform notification dates and similar policies on early decisions. Admissions offices also became more proactive, widening the range and upping the energy of their recruitment efforts. But the rising levels of student achievement caused misgivings as well. Like Wilbur Bender, many college officials worried publicly that academics might be over-emphasized. Accordingly, they sought to value other desirable qualities.

These shifting mentalities affected the use of financial aid. In the 1950s the colleges offered scholarships to a small number of students who were expected to be academic leaders, while also providing some grants or loans to genuinely needy students. By the 1960s, growing concern for access and the stronger credentials of students, brought a greater emphasis on need-based financial aid. After 1965 federal programs and especially commitments to the recruitment of minorities encouraged this reorientation. Still, through the 1960s most of these colleges melded ability and need by admitting on a need-blind basis, ranking the students needing aid, and awarding scholarship funds as far down the list as they would go. Aid budgets were generally fixed. Levels of aid relative to tuition remained fairly constant for these colleges from the mid-1950s to the mid-1970s.

In the late 1960s, market conditions turned against the selective colleges. Although more students were going to college, interest in liberal arts education waned while competition from expanding public universities intensified. Furthermore, academic qualifications began to plummet. Nationally, average SAT scores declined by 77 points from 1965 to 1980. Nor was this merely a compositional change; fewer students attained the

high scores that selective schools craved. Overall, applications stagnated, yields fell, and the average quality of incoming students declined.

The pressures that these developments placed on admissions offices brought revolutionary changes. Recruitment efforts had to be vastly expanded just to maintain the accustomed flow of applications. Colleges began purchasing lists of prospective students from the College Board and mailing them carefully designed admissions brochures. Separate offices for financial aid had to be established to handle federal programs. The transformation of admissions was perhaps accelerated by the commitment that all these colleges made following the Civil Rights Act of 1964, if not sooner, to recruit African-American students. Standard operating procedures had to be altered in at least three ways. The colleges had to compete far more vigorously for the limited number of minority students with traditional qualifications. To deepen the pool, they had to employ new measures for contacting minority students and estimating academic potential. And, since virtually all of these students required support, the colleges had to award financial aid in a more competitive manner. By the mid-1970s, the admissions office no longer simply selected from among qualified applicants. It now was responsible for drumming up applications from many sources and wooing those admitted. More daunting, even with much larger staff, it was charged with meeting numerical targets for race, gender, various talents, and children of alumni—in the apt words of the authors, it was expected to "craft a class." This state of affairs was a new development for American higher education, even though a logical extension of the trends set in motion in the 1950s.

Given the scarcity of the students the colleges wished to enroll, the resulting competition produced unequal results. The more able students gravitated toward the more prestigious (more selective) institutions. As institutional financial aid played a larger role, the wealthier colleges had more to offer. The very strongest of the colleges in this study largely maintained their level of selectivity, but for the weaker ones, all indicators of selectivity declined. Thus, hard times brought increasing stratification within the selective sector.

For the selective colleges, prospects for the 1980s looked even worse. Inflation was inexorably raising costs while college-age cohorts were destined to shrink. Admissions offices, already highly professional, redoubled their efforts to meet the challenge. Direct mailings multiplied, and the entire operation from marketing to enrollment management became more sophisticated. As part of this change, admissions targets became revenue dollars instead of student numbers. Tuition and financial aid became confounded as college leaders were compelled to concentrate on the bottom line.

Despite a dour outlook, the 1980s brought welcome developments. In a cultural shift that has yet to be explained, students and parents placed a higher value on institutional quality. The publication of college rankings by *U.S. News and World Report* in 1983, and the subsequent popularity of such exercises, both reflected and reinforced this trend. Through a variety of means, including planned downsizing, most of the colleges in this study actually improved student test scores from 1980 to 1994. But the institutions with the most quality to offer easily retained their advantage. Thus, the growing stratification of the previous period persisted during more prosperous times. In large measure this development was linked with the two most salient phenomena of these decades—the rocketing growth of tuition and a parallel rise in need-based financial aid.

Few people are aware that the cost of going to college, in both the public and private sectors, actually declined in the 1970s relative to inflation and disposable income. This situation reversed with a vengeance after 1980. Private college tuition increased at a seemingly exponential trajectory with the most selective colleges leading the way. These increases were only made possible through the expanded role of financial aid. Federal student financial aid, increasingly in the form of loans, enlarged the capacity of students to pay higher tuition. Institutions greatly abetted this process by covering any shortfall with their own allocations of need-based aid. This arrangement proved so effective that it snowballed. Whereas approximately one-quarter of private college students received aid before 1975, today the figure is 86 percent![7] This figure tends to be lower at the most selective colleges (because their students are wealthier), but the conclusion is the same—financial aid is now the norm in the private sector.

The selective colleges that pioneered this system of financial aid also set the standard: financial aid should be based only upon need and institutions should cover the "unmet need" of the students they admit. This was a difficult standard to meet for all but the wealthiest schools, but it did not seem hopeless in the 1970s. As tuition escalated rapidly in the 1980s, however, so too did student need. Less competitive colleges were soon offering aid to the large majority of their students—a practice that amounted to tuition discounting or differential pricing. But even this policy did little to improve their competitive position. The system of need-only aid, which in theory equalized the out-of-pocket cost of attending any school, would always favor the more prestigious institutions. To enroll more highly qualified students, less competitive colleges realized that they would have to offer more lucrative aid packages. Hence, by the 1990s, the old concept of merit aid, which had been expunged a generation earlier, once again assumed a central role. Several of the lowest ranked colleges in this study raised their average SAT scores substantially (60-120 combined points) with the help of merit aid. Nevertheless, to posit a sharp dichotomy between aid based on merit versus financial need would be misleading. For all but the most selective and affluent institutions, the two criteria have been melded together. The recrudescence of merit scholarships is the latest salient feature of the evolving American system of selective admissions.

Several critical facets of the development of admissions emerge from *Crafting a Class*. Given that "there are more places available at highly selective liberal arts colleges than there are high-ability students who want to attend them and who can afford to do so" (p. 231), the present system appears simply unsustainable. Here, the authors offer a persuasive demurrer: the situation has appeared equally unsustainable at many points in the past, and they quote a number of pundits who have mistakenly said so. Disaster has been avoided precisely because colleges have been compelled to adapt to their perilous predicaments. In fact, such adaptations, once proven effective, spread rapidly through the system. The examples of holdouts to these innovations are instructive. When Wheaton College neglected to enlarge student recruitment, or when Mount Holyoke resisted raising tuition, selectivity immediately suffered. The market appears irresistible in this respect. But when everyone conforms to the same rules and tactics, relative positions tend to become fixed. A rank-ordering of the colleges in the study by mean SAT scores for 1960 and 1994 revealed that, "only one school had either fallen or risen more than one place, and that school fell by only two positions" (p. 99). This stasis typifies what the economist of higher education Gordon Winston has called a "positional market." What is most important to rival institutions is their position relative to

one another. They accumulate resources in an attempt to surpass colleges above them, but also "to fend off those who would overtake them from below. . . . [T]he rich, within this hierarchy, get richer while the positional ranking itself remains remarkably stable."[8] This description fits the history of selective admissions as traced by Duffy and Goldberg. It also suggests that there may be deeper explanations for this pattern.

THE MARKET FOR SELECTIVE HIGHER EDUCATION

Recent years have witnessed important conceptual contributions to the microeconomics of higher education. Undergraduate education has been the focus, and attention has been directed chiefly toward private colleges and universities, perhaps because they are more easily modeled as economic actors having control over production and pricing. Generally, the new microeconomic perspectives have viewed colleges and universities explicitly as nonprofit entities in which qualitative considerations dominate much of their decision-making about goals and use of resources. Although they sell services, donative resources (which can be state appropriations, gifts, or endowments) play an inordinately important role. Economists have also done a great deal to clarify the tuition-financial-aid spiral described above. Analyses of tuition discounting have advanced to the notions of differential pricing and subsidization.[9] Caroline Hoxby's paper "How the Changing Market Structure of U.S. Higher Education Explains College Tuition," builds upon this literature and makes its own distinctive contribution. Its basic argument is historical, predicated on the evolution of the market for American higher education from 1950 to the 1990s.

Hoxby begins with changes in the market structure of higher education.[10] In simplified terms higher education in the past tended to operate as a collection of largely local markets, or "autarkies." Since World War II, though, the market became increasingly integrated on a national or regional basis. In an autarkic market colleges use their geographical market power to serve students with a relatively wide range of abilities, but as markets integrate this practice becomes more problematic. High ability students have more choices, and they are more likely to choose high quality institutions. This sorting process, over time, will cause greater difference among colleges in terms of average student ability and greater homogeneity within individual colleges. Indeed, Hoxby's data show that both trends have occurred. An additional dynamic gave further impetus to this process.

Economists have recently tried to analyze the long-assumed fact that students, the consumers of higher education, are also important inputs to the educational production process.[11] Specifically, high-ability students are believed to enhance the quality of education for their peers, and thus have a value to the college. Colleges that improve the quality of their education by investing in educational inputs will thus experience a multiplier effect in an integrated market. Higher quality will attract high-ability students whose presence will boost quality still further. This dynamic encourages colleges to compete on the basis of quality, which is self-reinforcing. And it discourages colleges from competing on the basis of price, because lower prices, by reducing income and spending, would tend to lower quality and discourage top students. The costs of enhanced quality will cause colleges to raise tuition, but they will also need to raise and invest additional institutional funds as well. Educational costs at high-quality colleges

will thus exceed price (tuition), so that high ability-students at high-demand colleges receive a subsidy, or "wage," that reflects their value as inputs.

The empirical data that Hoxby marshals bear out these relationships. As the market for higher education became integrated, "the average college, and even more the initially selective college, suppl[ied] a more expensive education to students of higher ability who receive higher 'wages' for their inputs and pay a higher price for their education" (p. 39). This analysis places the post-1980 escalation of private college tuition in a new light. The selective colleges did not possess the market power to overcharge students, but rather were locked into a quality competition that was in some sense beneficial to both parties (leaving aside the question of efficiency).[12] Students paid higher net tuition, but received higher subsidies as well; and colleges enhanced quality too.[13]

To a large extent, *Crafting a Class* and "Changing Market Structure" relate a similar story. The study of selective admissions offers any number of illustrations that could be used to exemplify Hoxby's analysis, or even refine it. For example, both studies offer data for the geographic integration of college recruitment, with Hoxby's national data being far more comprehensive. However, Hoxby seeks external causes for this development, citing the falling costs of transportation and communication and the facilitating contributions of intermediaries like the College Board. Duffy and Goldberg provide a different account that illustrates the efforts of individual colleges. Colleges expanded their admissions office staff in the 1950s in order to canvas ever-larger areas. The College Board began offering the Student Search Service in 1970, which made targeted direct mail feasible. Minority recruitment also caused colleges to cast their nets ever further. Thus, the calculated efforts of colleges themselves did a great deal to integrate this market.

On the growing stratification among colleges, the two studies complement one another. Although this is a major finding of Duffy and Goldberg, Hoxby provides the more powerful explanation. Still, one can see the process at work in *Crafting a Class*. The most selective institutions seem almost effortlessly to maintain their advantage, chiefly because they have first call on the most able students. The weaker colleges are forced to wrestle with a financially tangible trade-off between quantity and quality, with some actually cutting enrollments in order to raise average quality. The complementarity is more striking on the matter of student subsidies.

To any parents paying in excess of $100,000 for a son's or daughter's college education, the notion that their child is receiving a "wage" for his/her inputs must appear bizarre. Yet, Duffy and Goldberg reveal that colleges have often been willing to pay for desirable students (never mind athletic scholarships, which do not enter this discussion).[14] The merit scholarships of the 1950s clearly had such intent, and the colleges soon discovered in the next decade that they would have to provide full support to recruit minority students. In the 1990s the gradual dilution of need-based aid at all but the top colleges has explicitly validated the notion that some students deserve a higher wage than others. In fact 70 percent of private college students now receive aid from their institution. Duffy and Goldberg end with a qualified endorsement of merit aid (or "preferential packaging") based on the logic of student inputs. However, Hoxby has theoretical doubts. While conceding that merit aid might improve quality in some circumstances, she feels that offering high wages to select individuals would not produce a multiplier effect unless a college were to increase investments in quality as well.

Despite the inherent uncertainty surrounding such issues, these studies present congruent images of a remarkable transformation. Selectivity became an increasingly powerful force in shaping the nation's most prestigious colleges and universities. It has propelled them, at once, to become less like the remainder of American higher education and more like each other.[15] At the same time, both studies convey the view that institutions are increasingly constrained in their freedom to act by the tyranny of the market. Certainly these factors are all pertinent to the history of American higher education. They might, in fact, be seen more sharply through a wider historical lens.

AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The existence of a market requires not only buyers and sellers, but above all a good deal of information about the nature of possible transactions. Information is scarcely a problem where participants haggle face to face in a marketplace, but it presents special problems in education where commitments are long-term and transaction costs are severe. One of the insights of Hoxby's work is the importance accorded to mediating institutions, which facilitated market integration by solving such informational problems. The senior institution of this type is the College Entrance Examination Board, which has already been mentioned and which was half a century old by 1950. To commemorate its centennial, Michael Johanek organized a collection of eleven historical or historically grounded studies that illuminate, not the College Board itself, but aspects of education in which the Board was intimately involved. This is a rich and valuable collection for many purposes. However, because the Board's original and continuing role was to provide information for the higher education market, these studies address some important features in the evolution of the college market.

As Harold Wechsler's contribution explains, the College Board was formed to meet an important informational problem faced chiefly by the private colleges and universities of the East. Throughout most of the nineteenth century, the need for information about prospective students was met in the most direct of manners. Entrance examinations were administered prior to the fall term (or individually at any time). Colleges provided prospective students with all the information they would need: the expense of attendance, the opening date of fall term, and the textbooks that were covered on the entrance examination. This system proved too constraining for the emerging state universities, which developed a system of certifying high schools for the fitness of their graduates. The prestigious eastern institutions could not fully accept the loss of control that such a practice entailed. The College Board was the result—an examining agency that could provide these schools with information about prospective students unable to prepare for the institutional examinations. Wechsler describes the prolonged and messy process required to establish and prefect this system (and David Angus and Jeffrey Mirel, in a parallel study, illuminate the difficulties at the high school level).[16] However, the desired effect of enlarging the market for the leading eastern universities, which dominated the Board, was achieved. Already the largest American universities in 1900, these institutions expanded robustly in the following decade.[17]

After World War I, however, the leading eastern schools began receiving more applicants than they could or would want to accommodate. At this point they began to select their students from among academically qualified applicants—the beginning of selective admissions. One facet of this development is well known—how the selection

policies put in place at that time were shaped deliberately to discriminate against Jewish students. The two detailed historical studies of selective admissions, *The Qualified Student* by Harold Wechsler and *The Half-Opened Door* by Marcia Synnott,[18] accordingly emphasize this discriminatory function, the former at Columbia and the latter at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton. Another facet of this development, the role of the market created by the College Board system, is less well known. This subject is not addressed directly in the Johanek volume, but it becomes evident when viewed from a market perspective.

The crux of Hoxby's argument is that market integration will bring a greater concentration of the most desirable students at higher quality institutions. This is precisely what happened through selective admissions in the 1920s, except that 'desirable' was defined as much or more in social terms. Academic improvement was also achieved, largely by eliminating the laggards.[19] Nevertheless, the centerpiece of this system was what current economists call "student inputs." The belief that students contributed a vital part to each other's education, mostly outside of class, was articulated even more explicitly and forcefully in the 1920s than today. The selective universities of that era felt the imperative of "crafting a class" in order to achieve a social environment that would promote extracurricular learning and socialization. Given their beliefs, they favored private school graduates and alumni sons. But they also needed blue-chip recruits from the hinterland, certified by the College Board and later screened by alumni too. Such students substituted for Jewish students, whose misfortune it was to seek admission to nearby elite colleges in unseemly numbers.[20]

The institutions (rather than consumers) were able to shape this process through their domination of the College Board. Only 43 institutions were members by 1940, but the elite universities retained control. Only members of the College Board received the results of the examinations, although students could self-report scores to other schools. Thus, the Board was essentially a cartel, maintaining a closed market. This also limited the Board's influence on the rest of American higher education. For example, the SAT examination introduced by the Board in 1926, despite great potential popularity, had a limited impact before World War II because it largely served only member colleges.[21]

The transformation of American higher education to selective admissions based largely on academic merit had its inception in the 1950s. Indeed, all of the works considered here treat this decisive change. For Hoxby these years brought the beginnings of information exchange that facilitated market integration.[22] Michael McPherson and Owen Morton Schapiro identify this period as the onset of the "student aid era," which they argue is now drawing to a close.[23] Essentially this was a change in market structure that affected, as Duffy and Goldberg's study attests, most selective institutions of higher education.

The College Board opened its membership in 1948, and soon institutions throughout the country were utilizing the SATs to gain additional information about their applicants. The American College Testing Service was established in 1960, and was quickly patronized by the remainder of institutions that felt little affinity for the Board and its membership. In 1954 the College Board helped to launch the College Scholarship Service in order to determine in an objective and systematic way what each family might be reasonably expected to contribute to its child's college education. The founders of CSS—the old core group of College Board institutions—made an extraordinary commitment: they would dispense student aid only on the basis of financial need. As McPherson and Schapiro underline, an entire world view was embodied in this commitment. In addition

to assumptions about parental responsibility for paying for college, the most salient credo was that price should play no role in a student's choice of which college to attend. For institutions (and soon for the federal government too) the focus was directed to "unmet need." But an additional implication was that these institutions would not compete for students on the basis of price, but rather on the basis of quality.

The inchoate nature of the emerging system is revealed by the creation, in 1956, of the National Merit Scholarship Examination. Its original premise was the need to identify the most academically promising high school seniors so that they might be awarded merit scholarships. Many such awards already existed, from donors and endowed scholarships, in addition to the awards linked specifically with this exam. For these, the National Merit tests would solve an informational problem for both sponsors and potential recipients. Hoxby argues, however, that they had a much greater impact. By gathering a great deal of information and widely disseminating it, the National Merit examinations inaugurated a "bilateral information flow," permitting applicants greater knowledge of their potential opportunities.[24]

Until the late 1950s the increased information in the higher education market allowed institutions to know more about potential students, but not vice-versa. Only in 1958 did the College Board allow high schools to inform students of their scores.[25] The beginning of a bilateral flow thus gave consumers important information about institutions. The College Board *Handbook* first included student scores by college in 1959, as did other commercial guides that appeared in the next decade. As colleges became preoccupied with their own degree of selectivity, that very criterion became a measure of their putative quality. Still, markets change slowly, and in this case they were overshadowed somewhat by the altered conditions of the 1965–1980 period. However, the intensity of marketing by hard-pressed colleges increased the flow of information to applicants and paved the way for the consumer revolution of the 1980s. When *U.S. News and World Report* first published precise numerical rankings of institutions in 1983, it filled an informational void. If rankings helped to tip the market advantage to the buyers instead of the sellers, it merely accelerated an evolution that was well underway. The comparative standing of institutions (whatever their validity) now became not merely public knowledge but common knowledge. It clearly influenced the choices of applicants, but it placed much greater pressure on colleges and universities.

McPherson and Schapiro fear that these changes signal the end of the student aid era, and particularly the abandonment of the set of assumptions, referred to above, on which it rested. "Colleges and universities," they write, "have responded to intensified competition for students by adopting an instrumental view of student aid as part of an enrollment management strategy. Rather than looking to eliminate price as a factor in college choice, which is the official ideology in 'meeting need,' schools think about turning the net price to their advantage in the competitive struggle" (p. 359). Hoxby would seem to concur. She notes that market integration, which was historically sponsored by elite institutions, may not have been wholly beneficial for them: "elite colleges have gained better students but have probably lost the ability to retain rents."[26] Lazerson laments "a powerful shift in the ideology of higher education." A dominant emphasis on public interest and public benefits has "virtually collapsed." Instead, with the rise of consumerism, institutions and individuals are configured to pursue "individual mobility" (pp. 393–94). All would seem to agree that the powerful market forces unleashed by integration and heightened competition portend significant changes for at least the

selective sector of American higher education. However, while this paper has argued that historians need to appreciate the impact of such market forces, their distinctive contribution may be to signal the market's limitations.

OTHER VALUES, OTHER CONSUMERS

American colleges and universities from the 1920s to the present have basically sympathized with Wilbur Bender: selective admissions should not be based on academic criteria alone. Thus, the American way in admissions has paradoxically sought to strengthen academic performance while also basing admissions decisions substantially on nonacademic criteria. Duffy and Goldberg, for example, found that selective admissions tilted criteria toward nonacademic attributes in the postwar era. As one 1950s dean of admissions put it, "the factors which control admission from a large number of well-qualified candidates are now geographical; school distribution; extra curricular achievement" (p. 83). Diversity was always a goal, but its definition has continually shifted. For that dean and for Wilbur Bender, it meant different schools, regions, or extracurricular interests. In the 1920s college officials claimed it meant individual character and personality. By 1970 diversity meant adequate numbers of under-represented minorities.[27] Hence, subjective cultural values have always played a role in conjunction with merit in the American system.[28]

The inherent subjectivity of selective admissions would seem to belie the relentless quest for high ability as measured by grades and test scores. In fact, both processes operate simultaneously. The role of cultural fashion may be appreciated by looking back to the crisis years from the late 1960s to the end of the 1970s. This period began with the student rebellion and the decided rejection of traditional measures of academic achievement. Elitism was out of fashion (a term of opprobrium, in fact), and the academic culture valued greater inclusiveness. The impact on selective admissions has already been described. The interesting point here is that under these conditions only some of Hoxby's predictions occurred. Specifically, stratification among colleges continued to grow during these years, as did homogeneity within colleges. The degree of change was perhaps more muted, but the trend appears relentless. However, the prediction that selective colleges would charge higher tuition, and that they would supplement it with higher per-student subsidies was not borne out during these years. In constant dollars, both figures were lower in 1976 than they had been in 1966.[29] In other words colleges apparently did not seek or were not able to improve quality by increasing spending.

Colleges were no doubt constrained by prevailing egalitarian values as well as their own financial weaknesses. Higher education, and especially elite institutions, experienced a loss of confidence that undeniably inhibited their behavior during these years.[30] They also lacked, or felt they lacked, the pricing power to raise tuition any more than they did. Under these circumstances, the all-important multiplier effect would have been difficult to achieve. Circumstances changed, however, after the Federal government instituted a multi-pronged system of need-based financial aid. Combined with the colleges' own increasing outlays for this purpose, some measure of pricing power was re-established. Real tuition and subsidies crept upward in the late 1970s at the leading colleges, but a change in the Zeitgeist was still required. Only in the 1980s did conditions become propitious for the system that Hoxby has modeled.

Among the factors contributing to this change is the behavior of what Hoxby calls "other consumers." The impact of these bloodless entities is, she avers, "beyond the scope of the current paper" (p. 20), but they may nevertheless be highly relevant to historical change. In this case alumni donors seem to have reinforced the reorientation of the 1980s. Alumni naturally incline toward enhancing the quality of their alma mater. The egalitarianism of the late 1960s tended to sour relations, particularly with older graduates. But by the late 1970s, most colleges had committed themselves to repairing that damage. As quality moved to the forefront again in the 1980s, a harmony of outlook again prevailed. A different group of "other consumers" made a crucial contribution—employers of college graduates. In the 1980s graduates of selective colleges appeared to be achieving conspicuous financial and professional success in their careers.[31] Selective colleges became associated once more with worldly success rather than social rebellion. Giving by alumni and other benefactors grew impressively, thus creating another kind of multiplier effect to reinforce the efficacy of high costs and high quality.

Hoxby implies that the consumers of academic research are another group that lies beyond the scope of her subject. This may be true with respect to the markets for sponsored research and graduate education, but perhaps not for the prestige associated with those activities. They represent an entirely different dimension of perceived quality, one that is based upon an institution's contribution to the advancement of knowledge certified by the national and international academic communities. Even though academic prestige is conceptually distinct from undergraduate selectivity, both contribute importantly to institutional reputation. Nor is it true, as often alleged, that undergraduates derive no benefit from academic research. Campuses heavily populated with graduate students and scholarly faculty are more serious places intellectually and clearly offer a wider array of advanced scientific and professional courses. Research universities thus hold an attraction for talented undergraduates, which complicates the model.

When academic prestige is factored into the selective sector, an asymmetric pattern emerges. Liberal arts colleges, lacking sponsored research and graduate education, depend chiefly on selectivity and high input costs to establish their quality.[32] The leading private universities have the best of both worlds: the highest levels of undergraduate selectivity and world-renowned faculties. However, as one descends from this peak a tension becomes increasingly apparent between these two sources of prestige. A critical size is needed for high departmental reputation, and larger is often better; but college size works against selectivity. High quality private universities balance on a tightrope between being too small for scientific eminence and too large for the synergies of undergraduate selectivity. The third component of the selective sector, public research universities, derive their reputations heavily from faculty research.

When one looks only at student inputs and subsidies, as Hoxby does, private colleges and universities seem to have an insuperable advantage over their public counterparts. This advantage produces "a particularly intense competitive effect on initially selective public colleges, forcing them to compete against private colleges . . . for their increasing [sic] mobile, high ability, prospective students" (p. 40). In actuality, the academically strongest public universities seem to be meeting this challenge. They enroll as many high-ability students as their private counterparts; and public and private research universities together educate the majority of these sought-after undergraduates.[33] In this respect research universities considerably surpass the smaller colleges of the kind represented in Duffy and Goldberg's study. To some extent, Hoxby's dynamic

is probably at work for public universities, the author's view notwithstanding. These schools, for the most part, offer their students a respectable 'wage,' in the form of a state appropriation, and require far less out-of-pocket expense. Hence, the quality of their students ought to induce the all-important multiplier effect. In addition, many of these institutions have become increasingly responsive to the selectivity sweepstakes. Particularly in recent years, they have competed for high-ability students. However, ultimately their cachet rests heavily with the academic credentials of their faculties. Analyses that neglect this dimension can only partially account for the market structure of American higher education.

The studies reviewed here nevertheless provide a coherent and convincing account of an hugely important development in American higher education. Duffy and Goldberg, descriptively, and Hoxby, analytically, explain how the end of the twentieth century became a Golden Age for elite higher education.[34] And Johanek's volume provides richness and demurrers to that picture. The market dynamics they describe thus appear indispensable for understanding both the recent past and the current challenges facing these institutions. However, markets determine a broad range of possible valuations and, by implication, behavior. No matter how precisely this market might be understood, it will be affected by the relative valuations of the other outputs of higher education as well as the valuation of higher education in American society. There is consequently great need for further exploration of how individual institutions, successfully or not, have navigated these turbulent waters. But historians should also be mindful of the direction of the main current.

NOTES

1 Wilbur J. Bender, "A Report on the Admission and Scholarship Committee for the Academic Year 1959–60," *Report of the President of Harvard College, 1959–1960* (Harvard University, 1960), 52–62. I would like to thank Robert Dreeben for bringing this document to my attention. On Bender as Dean of Admissions, see Marcia Graham Synnott, *The Half-Opened Door: Discrimination and Admissions at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton, 1900–1970* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979), 206–7.

2 Hoxby, "Changing Market Structure," 41.

3 Nicholas Lemann's recent book, *The Big Test: The Secret History of the American Meritocracy* (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1999), falls outside this purview. This work recounts the relation between testing and merit-based admissions to leading universities, principally Harvard and Yale, largely in terms of personal biography. In contrast to the colorful depiction of personalities, social phenomena are presented as caricature. The New England upper class is the "episcopacy"; graduates of elite universities rule American society as "Mandarins." There is little among these anecdotes that can be related analytically to the studies that are the focus of this essay.

4 My own estimate using *The Carnegie Classification of Higher Education* (Princeton: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1994) and the *Digest of Education Statistics, 1997* (Washington, D.C.: NCES, 1998). Duffy and Goldberg use the distinction between selective and competitive admissions. Perhaps 50 institutions in the country accept less than 50% of applicants, so that well-qualified applicants effectively compete for acceptance: Crafting a Class, 34, 69.

5 Robert Klitgaard, *Choosing Elites* (New York: Basic Books, 1985) provides a framework for choosing among the 'best and the brightest'; Jean H. Fetter, *Questions and Admissions: Reflections on 100,000 Admissions Decisions at Stanford* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), uncritically depicts the system in operation.

[6] One-half of the sample colleges were single-sex at the outset of this study; hence, the transition, or resistance, to coeducation is a unique historical issue to which the authors devote a chapter: *Crafting a Class*, 105–36.

[7] *Digest of Education Statistics, 1997.* Figures for full-time undergraduate students at 4-year private colleges, 1995–96: 70% received institutional aid and 60% had federal loans.

[8] Gordon C. Winston, "Subsidies, Hierarchy and Peers: The Awkward Economics of Higher Education," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 13 (1999): 13–36, quote p. 28. The general features of positional markets are explicated in Robert H. Frank and Philip J. Cook, *The Winner-Take-All Society* (New York: Free Press, 1995).

[9] David W. Breneman, *Liberal Arts Colleges–Thriving, Surviving, or Endangered?* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1994); Charles T. Clotfelter, *Buying the Best: Cost Escalation in Elite Higher Education* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996); Michael S. McPherson and Morton Owen Schapiro, *The Student Aid Game: Meeting Need and Rewarding Talent in American Higher Education* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998). Discussion Papers of the Williams Project on the Economics of Higher Education have advanced this subject, including Gordon C. Winston, "A Guide to Measuring College Costs" (DP-46), January 1998.

[10] The details of this case are presented in a separate paper: "The Changing Market Structure of U.S. Higher Education," mimeo, Harvard University (1997), discussed below.

[11] Michael Rothschild and Lawrence J. White are generally credited with subjecting this rather old notion to economic analysis: "The Analytics of Pricing of Higher Education and Other Services in Which the Customers Are Inputs," *Journal of Political Economy* 103 (June 1995): 573–86. Finding empirical evidence has proved difficult: George Goethals, Gordon Winston, David Zimmerman, "Students Educating Students: The Emerging Role of Peer Effects in Higher Education," Williams Project on the Economics of Higher Education, Discussion Paper No. 50 (March 1999).

[12] For inefficiency in positional markets see, Frank and Cook, *Winner-Take-All Society*.

[13] The nature of this discussion makes "quality" appear to be something that can be sliced, weighed, and purchased. These studies, in fact, are judicious in recognizing the ineffable character of educational quality. But the topic cannot be avoided. Hoxby, for example, comments on the link between selectivity and high spending: "although we still have no direct measures of college quality, it would be difficult to explain this combination of results without a corresponding increase in quality of educational services offered" (p. 39).

[14] Athletics prove to be highly relevant to selective admissions: James L. Shulman and William G. Bowen, *The Game of Life: College Sports and Educational Values* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

[15] In 1983 the Williams College admissions director noted with some ambivalence that the lower scoring portion of the applicant pool had been decreased by almost 1,000: "ironically, however, the 1,000 or so students we've lost once represented 'our natural constituency' those who sought us out rather than those we recruited. . . . Is this a phenomenon we should be worried about?" *Crafting a Class*, p. 97.

[16] Harold S. Wechsler, "Eastern Standard Time: High-School-College Collaboration and Admission to College, 1880-1930," 43–80. David L. Angus and Jeffrey E. Mirel, "Presidents, Professors, and Lay Boards of Education: The Struggle for Influence Over the American High School, 1860–1910," 3–42.

[17] See Roger L. Geiger, *To Advance Knowledge: The Growth of American Research Universities, 1900–1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), Appendix A. Harvard, Yale and Princeton had national constituencies throughout much of the nineteenth century. From this perspective the increasing complication of their entrance examination was a growing obstacle to distant students.

In other words they were faced with market contraction before the College Board examinations reversed this trend.

[18] Harold S. Wechsler, *The Qualified Student: A History of Selective College Admission in America* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1977), Synnott, *Half-Opened Door*. Neither book appears in the reference list of Hoxby or Duffy and Goldberg.

[19] This process is described for Yale in Geiger, *To Advance Knowledge*, 216. One of Duffy and Goldberg's colleges claimed to eliminate the "bottom quintile" through greater selectivity.

[20] This is not to deny that overt anti-Semitism was at work, but rather to underline that college officials were crafting a class according to prevailing cultural values. The attenuation of academic achievement as a criterion for admission would seem too enlarge the scope for cultural bias.

[21] Marvin Lazerson, "The College Board and American Educational History," in Johanek, *A Faithful Mirror*, 379–98, esp. 384–90.

[22] See Hoxby, "The Changing Market Structure of U.S. Higher Education," mimeo, Harvard University (1997).

[23] Michael S. McPherson and Morton Owen Schapiro, "The End of the Student Aid Era? Higher Education Finance in the United States" in Johanek, *A Faithful Mirror*, 335–76.

[24] Hoxby, "Market Structure," 18–22.

[25] Michael S. Schudson, "Organizing the 'Meritocracy': A History of the College Entrance Examination Board," *Harvard Educational Review* (February 1972): 34–67.

[26] Hoxby, "Market Structure," 17n. For example, Harvard now lets it be known that they will match other offers to students they admit. Thus, they now pay a higher 'wage' for these students due to competition.

[27] See Julie A. Reuben, "Merit, Mission, and Minority Students: the History of Debate Over Special Admissions Programs," *A Faithful Mirror*, 195–243.

[28] An important question is who gains or loses by such arrangements? Under contemporary procedures, it is difficult to identify an excluded class. Only when admissions is perceived to be a zero-sum situation can victims be identified. This was the case in the backlash against affirmative action at the University of California, as well as in the more numerous lawsuits over admission to professional schools. On the other side of the ledger, throughout the century the *jeunesse doree* have largely found ways to enter selective schools. Ability to pay has always mattered, but perhaps more importantly, affluent students have had the wherewithal to game the system no matter how the rules change.

[29] Hoxby, "Market Structure," Figures 6 & 8.

[30] Roger L. Geiger, *Research and Relevant Knowledge: American Research Universities Since World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 252–71.

[31] A recent paper by Caroline Hoxby and Bridget Terry Long documents the increasing returns to graduates of high-cost/high-quality colleges: "Explaining Rising Income and Wage Inequality Among the College Educated" (draft, April 1999). Similar evidence is presented in William G. Bowen and Derek Bok, *The Shape of the River: Long-Term Consequences of Considering Race in College and University Admissions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 122–8.

[32] Faculty at the most selective colleges are expected to be active scholars: Robert A. McCaughey, *Scholars and Teachers: The Faculties of Select Liberal Arts Colleges and Their Place in American Higher Learning* (New York: Barnard College, 1994).

[33] Roger L. Geiger, "The Competition for High-Ability Students: Universities in a Key Marketplace," in *The Future of the City of Intellect: The Changing American University*, ed. Steven Brint (forthcoming).

[34] There are two generic arguments that can be marshaled against this depiction of the dynamics of selective admissions. The first, or psychometric, argument is that the effectiveness of educational institutions cannot be measured by their inputs, but only by the assessment of educational outcomes (controlling for inputs). Thus, high-ability students educated in an educationally rich campus environment may go on to earn more money and have more fulfilling lives than average (see above, note 31), but no one has yet proved that the institutions were the cause of their success: Alexander W. Astin, *Assessment for Excellence: The Philosophy and Practice of Assessment and Evaluation in Higher Education* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1993).

The second argument asserts that consumers of higher education do not know what they are doing: "much of the dysfunctionalism of the educational market today derives from the fact that too many educational consumers remain bad shoppers: too quick to mistake prestige for quality. . . ." (Robert Zemsky et al., "Market, Price, and Margin: Determining the Cost of an Undergraduate Education," Institute for Research on Higher Education, University of Pennsylvania, 1999). In other words, the high levels of fixed cost spending that Hoxby equates with quality (see above, note 13) in this view produce only prestige, which is something different. Prestige, according to these authors, reflects the preferences of faculty rather than the educational needs of students, and consumers are unable to tell the difference.

Selected Recent Dissertations in the History of Higher Education

The dissertations listed here are selected from titles supplied by Bell & Howell Information and Learning. Copies of most titles can be ordered by calling 800-521-3042. The abstracts have been abridged (with apologies to the authors) to convey the general thrust of the study. Since these titles were compiled from a key word search, some relevant titles may have been overlooked. To achieve more complete coverage, I invite readers to encourage recipients of doctorates in the history of higher education to send the Annual an abstract of their dissertations for possible inclusion in this section.

R.G.

Aaron, Marvin Ray. *The Higher Education of African Americans in Kansas City, Missouri: A History of Lincoln Junior College, 1936–1954.* University of Missouri-Kansas City, Ph.D., 1999, 371 pp.

Order No. 9957685

Higher education opportunities for African Americans in Kansas City, Missouri, until 1954 were segregated and unequal. The white and black high schools opened in 1867 and 1887 respectively, when high school was higher education. Whites got the first junior college in 1915 and another in 1930 while blacks waited until 1936. This study describes the nature of secondary and post-secondary education for blacks and whites in Kansas City. The history of the secondary schools for whites and blacks provided the context for the development of post-secondary educational opportunities. The black community petitioned the Board of Education for a junior college from the turn of the century to 1936. The district implemented its long-established policy of delay. The first trial of the Gaines case during the summer of 1936 had a profound effect on the African American community in Kansas City. That impact and the clamor for a junior college prompted the Superintendent of Schools to request, at the eleventh hour, the organization of Lincoln Junior College. The former students who told their stories about the junior college found that the Lincoln Junior College transformed their lives. The white and black junior colleges merged in 1954, but it took blacks more than two academic years to attend in the same numbers as they had at Lincoln Junior College.

Ackerberg-Hastings, Amy K. *Mathematics Is A Gentleman's Art: Analysis and Synthesis in American College Geometry Teaching, 1790–1840.* Iowa State University, Ph.D., 2000, 335 pp.

Order No. 9977308

The story of geometry education in the American college lacks attempts to place geometry and mathematics professors within the scientific community. There are no modern biographies of the three principal actors, Jeremiah Day, John Farrar, and Charles Davies. Mathematicians in the early nineteenth century often framed their discussions according to two key terms, "analysis" and "synthesis." This study seeks to address these gaps. Day, Farrar, and Davies were the first three American authors to write mathematical textbooks, and their volumes on geometry were the most popular in nineteenth-century

American colleges. A significant community of mathematics professors made incremental adjustments to the traditional liberal arts curriculum while carrying out 'normal science' and publicizing European mathematics in the colleges. Day, Farrar, and Davies formed an essential step between elite colonial amateur mathematicians and university research mathematics. The first of six chapters reviews the literature on the history of American mathematics and science between 1790 and 1840. This chapter also establishes French mathematics and the history of analysis and synthesis as 'givens' in the history of American college geometry. The second chapter evaluates the Scottish experience with geometry textbooks, paying special attention to the manifestation of analysis and synthesis as mathematical styles, method of proof, and educational techniques in John Playfair's *Elements of Geometry*. The third, fourth, and fifth chapters lay out the biographies and careers of Day, Farrar, and Davies, and discuss the professors' geometry textbooks with respect to analysis and synthesis. The conclusion ties together the themes raised above and outlines the history of American geometry education after 1840.

Barker, David Michael, *Thomas Jefferson and the Founding of the University of Virginia: An American Age of Reason, Religion, and Republicanism.* University of Illinois, Ph.D., 2000, 485 pp.

Order No. 9971024

This study concerns the relationship between Thomas Jefferson and the founding of the University of Virginia; Jefferson and the specter of American republicanism; and Jefferson's views pertaining to theism, deism, science, human reason, morality, and anti-sectarianism. The study examines the main themes at work in attempts to rationalize, and to reconcile, secular learning with moral instruction, religious diversity and the rights of individual conscience, with the overall aims and objectives of America's collegiate franchises. It also offers a critical examination of the forces at play both prior to and during the founding of the University of Virginia. It peers into the compatibility of the republican college and democracy. The study concludes with a close look at the religious proclivities of Thomas Paine and offers some insight into Thomas Jefferson's anti-sectarian reform recommendations, particularly noting the degree to which the elder statesman's attempts to promote universal Christian values can be misinterpreted in such a way that they may suggest, to many, that Jefferson is in fact an atheistic foe of religion.

Benedict, Marie Cecile. *Agriculture and Administrative Elites in Third Republic France: The Institut National Agronomique, 1876–1940.* New York University, Ph.D., 2000, 294 pp.

Order No. 9970865

This dissertation examines the early history of France's most elite institution of agricultural education in order to evoke the changes and continuities that marked French agricultural leadership in the Third Republic. It argues that the school played a mediatory role in the conflict between republican and conservative forces for control of rural France because it managed to combine the goal of scientific progress in agriculture with a commitment to the maintenance and reproduction of entrenched social hierarchies in the countryside. In order to reopen the Institut National Agronomique in 1876, conservative

landed aristocrats and notables seeking to maintain their status as spokesmen for rural France joined forces with a new group of scientists and civil servants who wanted scientifically trained agricultural specialists to man state institutions and to help modernize French agriculture. The new group of scientifically-trained agricultural specialists that emerged from the INA, marked by the title *ingenieur agronome*, secured positions in both left- and right-wing agricultural syndicates as well as the state administration. The *ingenieurs agronomes* propagated a conciliatory vision of French agricultural management, which advocated both technical improvement and the preservation of a large population of small farmers, to be achieved through a combination of state intervention and independent professional organization. This vision provided the logical underpinnings of the system of agricultural management that emerged in the Third Republic and guided the direction of French agricultural policy in the post-war era.

Bugaighis, Elizabeth Tyler. *Liberating Potential: Women and the Pennsylvania State Normal Schools*. The Pennsylvania State University, Ph.D., 2000, 334 pp.

Order No. not yet available

Normal schools, which originated during the 1830s, continued to educate teachers for American public schools for over a century. Normal schools have been criticized for the low level of their students and curricula, blamed for not creating enough teachers for country schools, and chastised for abandoning teacher education for the more prestigious tasks of training school administrators and education researchers. Historians have faulted the schools for taking a narrow, vocational view of educational preparation. In contrast this study of three of the fourteen state normal schools in Pennsylvania, for the period 1890 to 1930, showed that while teacher education remained their principal purpose, through 1920 the institutions also served a multipurpose function by offering students a range of curricula including classical, commercial, music, and college preparatory programs. Normal schools, in Pennsylvania and elsewhere, enrolled largely female student populations. Concurrently, women usually held over half of the positions on the faculty, providing employment in an academic environment. Although teaching has often been denigrated as a lowly occupation, many alumnae and faculty members reported that their work was both professionally and personally rewarding. The study argues that coeducational, residential state normal schools in Pennsylvania were flexible institutions that accommodated the needs of local students, afforded access to education for students in remote areas, and generated important career opportunities for women to serve as faculty members. Their lives, intimately intertwined with these institutions, also illustrated the liberating potential offered by normal schools to a rural population.

Coleman, Steven R. *To Promote Creativity, Community, and Democracy: The Progressive Colleges of the 1920s and 1930s*. Columbia University, Ph.D., 2000, 375 pp.

Order No. 9956343

This thesis examines five experimental colleges-Antioch, Sarah Lawrence, Bard, Bennington, and Goddard—established during the 1920s and 1930s based on principles of progressive education. Influenced by the philosophy of John Dewey and his interpreters such as William Heard Kilpatrick at Teachers College, Columbia University, and

Boyd Henry Bode at Ohio State University, pragmatic idealists, backed by wealthy and influential reform-minded individuals, created programs to promote the values of creativity, community, and democracy. The fine and performing arts were elevated to full curricular status and taught by professionals, not academics. Students did field work for their classes, and alternated periods of employment or volunteer service with classroom instruction. More than on other campuses, instructors and students participated in institutional governance. Faculty were hired based on their teaching ability and commitment to the growth of students. They met each week with students in private tutorial conferences and counseling sessions. Undergraduates had an unusual amount of freedom and responsibility to design and execute their course of study. The thesis examines the individuals—presidents, trustees, deans, and faculty leaders—who launched these colleges, what they sought to accomplish, and the extent of their achievement. Conceptual flaws prevented these models from being replicated. Small campuses featuring highly individualized instruction were expensive and tuition necessarily high. Without endowments, financial aid was minimal. Students were admitted primarily on ability to pay for weakened programs. Faculty were underpaid and had little time for professional development. As pedagogic laboratories, however, they furthered the development of creative expression, experiential learning, student advising, adult education, community service, and independent study as components of a liberal arts curriculum. In this way the impact of the progressive influence on higher education was extended beyond these few institutions.

Diamond, Nancy Cooper, *New Models of Excellence: Rising Research Universities in the Postwar Era, 1945–1990.* University of Maryland Baltimore County, Ph.D., 2000, 544 pp.

Order No. 9965629

This dissertation contributes to existing knowledge about the American research university system since World War II. During these years, the national research economy experienced an ongoing expansion from a relatively few large, prestigious universities to a wider variety of second- and third-tier campuses of different sizes and types. The majority of previous studies concentrated on the achievements of the nation's elite universities, ignoring or obscuring the progress of smaller, newer, but successful, research campuses. In contrast, this study documented the expansion of research capacity at three of the thirty-two rising research universities identified by Hugh Davis Graham and Nancy Diamond in The Rise of American Research Universities and explained the circumstances that produced their advance in the years from 1945 to around 1990. At each of these campuses, a combination of factors—successful exploitation of natural advantages, dedication to a research mission, a critical mass of research-oriented faculty, a research agenda that matched federal funding priorities, and appropriate organizational arrangements—produced research success. Above all, effective leadership from presidents, academic vice presidents or provosts, and in some cases, deans and faculty, produced significant progress. Results suggested that effective campus leadership and institutional flexibility and adaptability play a significant role in enhancing campus research capacity.

Gasman, Marybeth, *A Renaissance in Nashville: Charles S. Johnson's Use of Philanthropy to Build Fisk University in the Post-War Period*. Indiana University, Ph.D., 2000, 203 pp.

Order No. 9966025

Fisk University, a historically black institution, has received much attention from philanthropies throughout its existence. While some of this attention benefited the institution, there were instances in which philanthropists attempted to exert too much control over Fisk's curriculum. Under the leadership of Charles S. Johnson, the first African American president, the institution was able to achieve a more collaborative relationship with many philanthropic organizations. This study examines the ways in which Charles S. Johnson used philanthropy to propel Fisk to national prominence. In spite of its location within the segregated South, Fisk became a cultural center and an incubator for black achievement and scholarship. Johnson's presidency serves as a model for future efforts by both philanthropists and educators to improve the quality of higher education for African Americans.

Gulley, Frank Stuart. *Academic President as Moral Leader: James T. Laney at Emory University, 1977–1993*. Georgia State University, Ph.D., 2000, 280 pp.

Order No. 9926043

This dissertation focuses on the leadership of Dr. James T. Laney as president of Emory University from 1977 until 1993. During Laney's tenure, Emory grew from a solid regional institution into a major research university. By most salient measures—endowment, student enrollment, faculty size, and square footage—Emory's growth was enormous. Both prior to and soon after his departure, Laney's efforts were recognized by Emory's being named as a top 25 university by *U.S. News and World Report*, its Carnegie classification being changed from Research II to Research I, and admission to the elite Association of American Universities. This dissertation examines how Laney accomplished the transformation of Emory. Particular attention is given to Laney's commitment to Emory being a moral community concerned with advancing the common good. Thus, this dissertation focuses on Laney's background prior to his election as president, the institutional and environmental challenges he faced while in office, his unprecedented achievements as a fund-raiser, and his numerous speeches given while in office. This detailed analysis provides insight into Emory's maturation as a leading research university, into the moral leadership given by Laney, and into the development of higher education in this country.

Gunn, Edwin Anthony. *Reach for Tomorrow: A History of Rockingham Community College*. The University of North Carolina at Greensboro, Ph.D., 2000, 132 pp.

Order No. 9980672

This study provides a history of Rockingham Community College (RCC), Wentworth, N.C., from its founding through its first 34 years of operation, from 1966 to 2000. It also examined the work of the college's founders and subsequent leaders to determine how they contributed to the college's success. This study found that the success of RCC was influenced tremendously during its formative years by the first chairman of its Board of Trustees, Welsford Bishopric, and its first president, Gerald B. James. Bishopric and

James shared a vision of RCC as an institution where students could continue their education beyond high school, receiving either technical training or their first two years of undergraduate study. RCC's two subsequent presidents built on that early vision instead of changing it. As the college grew, its culture changed from a family with a pioneering spirit to faculty distrustful of administration. This change was prompted by the physical growth of the campus and a financial crisis in 1977 that resulted in elimination of faculty and staff positions. Succeeding administrations have attempted to improve the relationship between faculty and staff, rekindling a 'college family' atmosphere. The college's founders, its presidents, and others have been pleased with the way the institution developed. With the exception of an unsuccessful bond issue campaign in 1972, the response of the community to the institution has been positive and support for the college has always been strong.

Hall, Robert Dale. *Education of American Research Astronomers, 1876–1941.* Oregon State University, Ph.D., 2000, 948 pp.

Order No. 9842459

The education (particularly graduate education) of Americans who were active in astronomical research between 1876 and 1941 is assessed for its effectiveness in preparing the astronomers for careers in research. This period contains three dynamic changes: the growth of American astronomy in becoming the world's leading community of astronomers, the formation and flourishing of the American model of the graduate school, and the switch of emphasis of research from classical astronomy to astrophysics. Investigations are made of the roles of the astronomers' education in the growth and success of American astronomy and the progressive adoption of new fields of research—observational astrophysics, statistical astronomy, and theoretical astrophysics. Influences on astronomical education in the U.S. are also assessed. The study used biographical information on the education and research careers of 509 scientists who published at least three papers of astronomical research. The data allowed the study of trends in the education of the astronomers. Brief case histories of astronomical education at the most important schools of astronomy, Berkeley-Lick, Chicago-Yerkes, Harvard, Michigan, and Princeton, complemented data of the astronomers. The study found that the loss of courses of elementary astronomy in high schools and colleges due to a report in 1893 had no discernible effect on the growth of the community of astrophysicists, yet contributed to the decline of classical astronomy. Also, the astronomers most responsible for the rise of astrophysics after 1900 were not educated in conventional graduate programs of classical astronomy. Lick Observatory, under W. W. Campbell, reset the prevalent direction of graduate training in the U.S. from classical astronomy to observational astrophysics. Princeton's graduate program was the most effective in producing outstanding astronomers. Its graduates were the only students of the 1920s and 30s with strong backgrounds in physics. Virtually every field of astronomical research, except for observational astrophysics, was imported from Europe via advanced training of Americans in Europe or European astronomers immigrating to the U.S. The European immigrants included a high concentration of outstanding astronomers.

Herda, Lou Ann. *The Cherokee National Female Seminary: Higher Education for Cherokee Females in the Nineteenth Century.* University of Houston, Ed.D., 1999, 133 pp.
Order No. 9950324

In the beginning of the nineteenth century, there were few institutions that offered education to females. As the nineteenth century reached its second decade, more females wanted an education that went beyond the ornamental branches taught at the typical female seminaries. Mary Lyon, Catherine Beecher, Zilpah Grant, and Emma Willard created female seminaries, the predecessor to the female college. Although the Cherokee tribe had suffered loss of life and property as a result of their forced removal to Indian Territory, they, too, wanted to possess this form of education. Through a series of uncanny connections, they acquired the curriculum, the necessary books, and teachers from the school that Mary Lyon began, Mount Holyoke Female Seminary. These efforts led to the establishment of the Cherokee National Female Seminary in 1851. The tribe ran the school itself without assistance from either the United States government or from any religious group. The Cherokees persevered until their educational endeavors were comparable to other contemporary institutions of higher education. This study analyzes the educational accomplishments of the Cherokee Nation to create the only school of its kind run entirely by an American Indian tribe for the sole purpose of educating their females to their "highest practicable point." This study also reflects other early attempts at offering a collegiate education to the American Indians. Finally, this study determines the extent to which the education offered at the Cherokee National Female Seminary was comparable to the education offered at other contemporary institutions of higher education.

Kean, Melissa Fitzsimons. *'At a most uncomfortable speed': The Desegregation of the South's Private Universities, 1945–1964.* Rice University, Ph.D., 2000, 462 pp.
Order No. 9969281

This dissertation traces the debate about desegregation on the campuses of five elite private universities in the South from the end of World War II to the early 1960s. The presidents of Duke, Emory, Rice, Tulane, and Vanderbilt, charged with leading these schools to national prominence, quickly grasped that postwar realities—including pressure from federal grant-makers and national philanthropic foundations—would require some measure of racial change. In the interest of progress the presidents were willing to accept limited participation by "exceptional" blacks in the life of the university. The critical issue in their eyes was who would control the process of racial change. While acknowledging, some more grudgingly than others, that "outside" pressure for desegregation should be heeded, the presidents insisted that the pace and manner of loosening racial restrictions must remain the decisions of educated southern whites. Many powerful trustees and alumni staunchly opposed even this. These traditionalists strongly defended southern racial customs and fought any attempts to alter them for any reason, even for the advancement of the schools they served. With varying degrees of energy and success, the presidents mediated between the proponents of progress and tradition, trying to avoid open conflict while gradually improving each school's academic quality. Only Vanderbilt took steps towards opening admissions, allowing black graduate students to enroll in its School of Religion beginning in 1953. The debate over the place of

talented blacks on these campuses remained subdued until 1954, when *Brown v. Board of Education* and the growing grass-roots civil rights movement brought increased turmoil to the South. Although many trustees vowed not to bend to this pressure, the costs of maintaining segregation on campus became too high to bear. By the early 1960s, snowballing loss of faculty, student discontent, and above all, the threat of a funding cut-off by the federal government and the foundations led all these schools to abandon segregated admissions policies.

Kenschaft, Lori J. *Marriage, Gender, and Higher Education: The Personal and Public Partnership of Alice Freeman Palmer and George Herbert Palmer, 1886–1902.* Boston University, Ph.D., 1999, 572 pp.

Order No. 9947655

This dissertation lies at the intersection of biography, intellectual history, and gender studies. Alice Freeman was the first woman to be president of a liberal arts college. She left Wellesley College in 1887 to marry George Herbert Palmer, who was a professor of philosophy at Harvard University. Both of them continued to shape higher education. Alice became a popular lecturer and educational consultant and helped establish the University of Chicago, while George promoted now-familiar pedagogical and curricular reforms, such as the elective system. This dissertation tells the story of their courtship, marriage, and experiences as a dual-career couple in the 1890s in order to illuminate connections with the broader histories of marriage, gender, and higher education. The first chapter examines competing models of ethics, arguing that George and Alice's courtship brought these models into conflict, and exploring the redefinitions that allowed them to resolve that conflict into a decision to marry. The second chapter places in historical context their ideal of marriage—a sexual, domestic, and spiritual intimacy permeated by a sense of comradeship—and analyzes their successes and failures in manifesting that ideal. The third chapter explores the factors that made them ultimately abandon their efforts to sustain a dual-career marriage. Their ideas about professionalism and their desires for friendship with male colleagues, it argues, made Alice's career increasingly untenable. The fourth chapter examines their ideas about education and gender, their attempts to embody those ideas in the institutional structures of higher education, and the tensions between their ideal of comradeship and their assumptions that they should each attend primarily to their own sex. The epilogue describes George's representations of their relationship after Alice's death and contrasts his purposes in writing about their marriage to the purposes that motivated this project.

Mogi-Hein, Yoko. *Higher Education Reform under American Occupation, 1945–1952: The Rise of a Japanese Meritocracy.* Columbia University, Teachers College, Ed.D., 1999, 223 pp.

Order No. 9959347

Under the equal opportunity ideology of the American Occupation, ability and achievement became the guiding principles of the Japanese education system. This study explores the impact of Occupation policies on Japanese higher education and on the rise of a meritocracy. The research suggests that it was two conditions—the new ideology of equal educational opportunity and the traditional university prestige system of prewar

origin—that gave rise to a specifically Japanese meritocracy, membership of which was based on a very competitive and standardized university entrance exam. By focusing on higher education reform and meritocracy during the Occupation years, the study examines the changing relationship of higher education and society and how reform policies initiated a new dimension of freedom and equity in postwar Japan. Since the process of reform was directly related to Japan's social, political, and economic transformation, the study attempts to understand this evolution. At the same time, it charts the dilemma of meritocracy and how Japanese education has begun to fall under the domination of a logic that makes it possible to stratify people on the basis of their achievement and by the measurement of standard deviations.

Morelock, Kolan Thomas. *Literary Societies, Dramatic Clubs, and Community Culture: A Study of Lexington Intellectual Life During the Gilded Age and Progressive Era.* University of Kentucky, Ph.D., 1999, 567 pp.

Order No. 9948891

In order to explore an historical intersection of Southern intellectual life and the undergraduate extra-curriculum, the culture and intellectual life of Lexington, Kentucky, is revisited from the 1880s to the beginning of American military engagement in the First World War in 1917. Lexington life during this time period is recalled largely through the public voice of the city's press, and through the private lives of two Lexingtonians who demonstrated an active sense of civic responsibility, as well as an interest in and concern for the life of the mind. From this account Lexington emerges well within the cultural mainstream of both the nation and the upper-South, evolving from a New South, Victorian community steeped in nineteenth-century oratorical culture during the Gilded Age into a progressive-and still quite Southern-city wedded to the culture of expertise in the pre-World War I years. Throughout both eras, as recounted here, Lexington was a city offering both popular entertainment and a vibrant 'high culture' manifested as appreciation for, and exercise of, the arts of expression. Within this cultural milieu, two agencies of the local collegiate extra curriculum, both bearing intellectual pretensions and aspirations, are recalled—the student literary societies quite extensively, and the student dramatic clubs more summarily—in order to suggest that, beyond their on-campus functions, first the literary societies and then the dramatic clubs achieved through public performance a distinctive, off-campus role in this Southern city's intellectual life.

Nivison, Kenneth. *Proving Grounds: New England Colleges and the Emergence of Liberal America, 1790–1870.* The Catholic University of America, Ph.D., 2000, 283 pp.

Order No. 9969583

This dissertation is a study of five colleges founded between 1793 and 1825: Williams, Bowdoin, Middlebury, Waterville, and Amherst. It argues that these colleges were integral elements of a broad social, cultural, political, and religious transformation in American society between the American Revolution and the American Civil War, described here as the 'emergence of liberal America.' Most of the major social and political movements of the period found outlets on New England's campuses, revealing both the colleges' connectedness to society at large and the ways in which they helped shape the

direction of some of those movements. The heart of the colleges' response to and involvement in the emergence of liberal America was a classical liberal education. While they stressed classical learning in their curriculum, the material learned from courses was of secondary importance to college officials. The core of the liberal education was the formation of students' characters, and at the heart of the process of character formation was a clearly defined code of masculinity. The democratization of American society and resulting cultural shifts played themselves out in a number of struggles between students and college officers. Successive generations of students accepted, rejected, and adapted the standards presented to them, and in so doing forged new cultural boundaries for an emerging middle class. In this process of formation and reformation, colleges became arenas of cultural exchange, where two cultures, that of the students and that of college officers, came together in the same space to create a second kind of proving grounds at New England's colleges—standards by which to measure what it meant to be a man, a scholar, a citizen, and a leader. The struggle to define these standards, combined with the aforementioned broader social changes, made the colleges dynamic and at times turbulent institutions.

Pearce, Elizabeth Helen. *King's College Purpose and Accountability in Higher Education: The Dilemma of King's College, 1827–1853.* University of Toronto, 1999, 239 pp.

Order No. NQ41269

The first university in Upper Canada to receive a royal charter was King's College at York. Although petitions for a university in the colony are recorded in the late eighteenth century, it was not until 1827 that a charter was actually acquired and it was only in 1843 that the university opened its doors to students. In the meantime, three other universities had opened in the province: Victoria, sponsored by the Methodists, in Cobourg (1842); and Queen's, sponsored by the Church of Scotland (1842) and Regiopolis, sponsored by the Roman Catholics (1837), both in Kingston. This study provides an account of the founding of King's College and the quandary surrounding its development and ultimate transformation into the University of Toronto. The chronicle is focused primarily on the political and denominational context and on legislative attempts to resolve the university dilemma. The study traces the history of King's College through the adoption of three university models: John Strachan's pedagogical model, Robert Baldwin's political model, and Francis Hincks' compromise model. The discussion encompasses the rationale for the adoption of each and the rejection of the Strachan and Baldwin options.

Roy, Jerrold Wimbish. *Student Activism and the Historically Black University: Hampton Institute and Howard University, 1960–1972.* Harvard University, Ed.D., 2000, 221 pp.

Order No. 9968323

The late 1960s were a time of intense ferment on U.S. college campuses. At historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs), students questioned the relevance of the curriculum, demanding changes in "the substance and character of their educational experiences." Students also began to challenge the autocratic nature of their administrations. Although some black college administrators had been generally supportive of student

efforts during the sit-ins and marches of the early 1960s, these administrators took a different position when the protests were directed at their institutions and themselves. This study examines student activism at two historically black colleges: Howard University and Hampton Institute, between 1960 and 1972. It asks: what issues concerned activist students; why and how did they want to change the university; and how did administrators respond to student protests? Hampton and Howard have served as models that other HBCUs have tried to emulate. An examination of the protests on Hampton's and Howard's campuses iilluminates some of the issues that both HBCU students and administrators were wrestling with during the wave of student protests that swept the country in the 1960s.

Tarbox, Norman C., Jr. *Origins of the Utah System of Higher Education. The University of Utah*, Ed.D., 2000, 413 pp.

Order No. 9963116

This work explores the events that led to and defined Utah's modern higher education system. The theoretical framework of new institutionalism is used to interpret the historical events. The boundaries of this work are the years of 1850 (the year pre-territorial residents of the area created its first university) and 1969 (the year the Utah System of Higher Education was formally organized). Utah's past and present regarding state-level higher education organization is essentially a story of two countervailing values competing for dominance against each other. Utah's nine colleges and universities were each born as local enterprises. These origins resulted in a strong preference for local control. Consequently, state-level oversight of the institutions was initially minimal. However, as progressive-era forces led to greater centralization in government and education across the country, efforts to centralize and bureaucratize Utah higher education began to grow as well. The first half of the twentieth century saw numerous attempts to centralize Utah higher education wilt in the face of the strong and traditional preference for local control. Eventually, lawmakers espousing a rational higher education structure secured legislative victories. The ultimate success of centralizers came with the passage of the Utah Higher Education Act of 1969 (HEA). This work concludes with a policy analysis of HEA. HEA was a compromise that constituted a major shift toward structural formality and centralization but also enabled the continuance of some degree of local control in Utah higher education.

Turner, Jeffrey Alan. *Conscience and Conflict: Patterns in the History of Student Activism on Southern College Campuses, 1960–1970.* Tulane University, Ph.D., 505 pp.

Order No. not yet available

This dissertation examines the origins and impact of student activism on southern college campuses during the 1960s. Southern students of the sixties joined their colleagues in other parts of the nation in addressing the major social and political questions of the day, but the political mobilization of these students has received scant attention from historians. When a student-led sit-in movement against segregated public establishments swept the South in 1960 and 1961, it initiated a new era in the region's political history and in the history of southern higher education. The sit-ins provided new precedents for southern students as political actors while they simultaneously exposed limita-

tions on academic freedom. On this foundation, southern students built a student movement that challenged not only the racial discrimination in the region but also inadequacies in the region's higher education system. The escalation of American military involvement in Vietnam intensified this movement in the late 1960s. At the same time, the emergence of black-power rhetoric signaled a rise in militancy among the region's black students and raised questions about the meaning of integration in formerly segregated colleges and universities. In 1969 and 1970 campuses throughout the region experienced unprecedented demonstrations. Nevertheless, faced with strong resistance and beset by internal weaknesses, the southern movement soon lost momentum. This dissertation differs from most previous studies of the student movement of the sixties by adopting a biracial focus. Historically black institutions and predominantly white campuses provided different contexts for the emergence of a student movement. But despite the differences, the clashes on black and white campuses were part of one movement—a movement that sought to remake southern higher education and, in the process, southern society.

Watson-Moore, Yolanda Letitia. *Training the Head, the Hand, and the Heart: The Evolution of the Academic Curriculum at Spelman College (1881–1953).* Georgia State University, Ph.D., 2000, 144 pp.

Order No. 9963694

From 1881–1953 dramatic curricular changes took place at Spelman College, currently the nation's oldest surviving college founded for the education of black women. The founders of Spelman College were white missionary women, educated in and educators at New England academies and seminaries. They believed that it was their duty and mission, sanctioned by God, to educate the masses of newly-emancipated Negro women and prepare them for productive American citizenry. The most compelling aspect of Spelman's early curricular history is that although the African-American women studying at the institution were being educated to perform within their 'proper spheres' (as were Southern white women) of performing domestic work for others and serving as teachers for members of their own race, the founders of Spelman believed strongly in a diverse curriculum for the edification of the total woman. In this vein, the founders sought to impart knowledge and skills for racial uplift, personal domestic service, professional vocational service, and much to the chagrin of popular Southern culture, education in formal academic subjects. From 1881 to 1953, four presidents led Spelman College. Each president had different notions about the Spelman curriculum and utilized their respective presidencies to shape the curriculum accordingly. Beyond the impact of the presidents, the dissertation provides evidence that other factors also influenced the content and goals of the Spelman College curriculum. This dissertation demonstrates the ways in which the classic, liberal, and industrial curricula of the institution worked with the extra and hidden curricula to foster within its students the creation of leadership for the uplift of the black race.

Wyatt, Nelda Kay. *Into the Promised Land: the Transformation of Eastern and Western Kentucky Normal Schools into Teachers Colleges.* University of Kentucky, Ed.D., 1999, 159 pp.

Order No. 943032

This study concerns the events that transformed the first two Kentucky state supported normal schools for white teachers into teachers colleges. Diverse forces such as the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs, the Kentucky Education Association, State school men, newspaper editors, certain individuals within the state and certain outside agencies joined together to bring about what they believed to be the correct system in Kentucky's educational offerings. The normal schools turned teachers colleges served to democratize or broaden the appeal of higher education. These institutions became multipurpose institutions and served as the people's colleges because they were closer to the people, both geographically and philosophically. They provided schooling to the sons and daughters of farmers and rural people who otherwise could not have afforded an education. The people who attended these schools in turn changed the focus and scope of the normal schools. The struggle that developed over their role also played a large part in the entire development of education for Kentucky. The high school movement and the establishment of State College as the University of Kentucky tie in with the forces that transformed the normal schools into teachers colleges.

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